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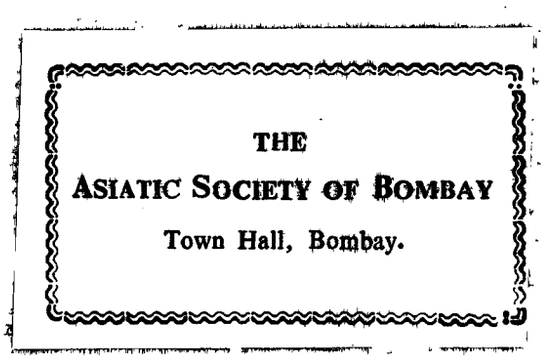

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Margaret Dutchess of Newcastle.

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THE

LIFE

OF THE

Thrice Noble, High and Puiſſant PRINCE

William Cavendiſhe,

Duke, Marqueſs, and Earl of *Newcaſtle*; Earl of *Ogle*; Viſcount *Mansfield*; and Baron of *Bolſover*, of *Ogle*, *Bothal* and *Hepple*: Gentleman of His Majeſties Bed-chamber; one of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy-Councel; Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; His Majeſties Lieutenant of the County and Town of *Nottingham*; and Juſtice in Ayre *Trent-North*: who had the honour to be Governour to our moſt Glorious King, and Gracious Soveraign, in his Youth, when He was Prince of *Wales*; and ſoon after was made Captain General of all the Provinces beyond the River of *Trent*, and other Parts of the Kingdom of *England*, with Power, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, to make Knights.

WRITTEN

By the thrice Noble, Illuſtrious, and Excellent Princeſs,

MARGARET, *Ducheſs of* Newcaſtle,

His Wife.

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Maxwell*, in the Year 1667.

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To His moſt Sacred

MAJESTY

Charles the Second,

By the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Have, in confidence of your Gracious acceptance, taken the boldneſs, or rather the preſumption, to dedicate to Your Majeſty this ſhort Hiſtory (which is as full of Truths, as words) of the Actions and Sufferings of Your moſt Loyal Subject, my Lord and Husband (by Your Majeſties late favour) Duke of *Newcaſtle*; who when Your Majeſty was Prince of *Wales*, was Your moſt careful Governour, and honeſt Servant. Give me therefore leave to relate here, that I have heard him often

ſay,

ſay, He loves Your Royal Perſon ſo dearly, that He would moſt willingly, upon all occaſions, ſacrifice his Life and Poſterity for Your Majeſty: which Heaven will ever bleſs, is the Prayer of

Your moſt Obedient, Loyal,

humble Subject

and Servant

Margaret Newcaſtle.

TO

TO HIS

GRACE

THE

Duke of Newcaſtle.

My Noble Lord,

IT hath always been my hearty Prayer to God, ſince I have been your Wife, That firſt I might prove an honeſt and good Wife, whereof your Grace muſt be the onely Judg: Next, That God would be pleáſed to enable me to ſet forth and declare to after-ages, the truth of your loyal actions and endeavours, for the ſervice of your King and Country; For the accompliſhing of which deſign, I have followed the beſt and trueſt obſervations of your Secretary John Rolleſton, *and your Lordſhips own Relations, and have accordingly writ the Hiſtory of your Lordſhips Life, which although I have endeavoured to render as perſpicuous as ever I could, yet one thing I find hath much darkned it;*

which is, that your Grace commanded me not to mention any thing or paſſage to the prejudice or diſgrace of any Family or particular perſon (although they might be of great truth, and would illuſtrate much the actions of your Life) which I have dutifully performed to ſatisfie your Lordſhip, whoſe Nature is ſo Generous, that you are as well pleaſed to obſcure the faults of your Enemies, as you are to divulge the vertues of your Friends; And certainly, My Lord, you have had as many Enemies, and as many Friends, as ever any one particular perſon had; and I pray God to forgive the one, and proſper the other: Nor do I ſo much wonder at it, ſince I, a Woman, cannot be exempt from the malice and aſperſions of ſpightful tongues, which they caſt upon my poor Writings, ſome denying me to be the true Authoreſs of them; for your Grace remembers well, that thoſe Books I put out firſt, to the judgment of this cenſorious Age, were accounted not to be written by a Woman, but that ſome body elſe had writ and publiſh'd them in my Name; by which your Lordſhip was moved to prefix an Epiſtle before one of them in my vindication, wherein you aſſure the world upon your honour, That what was written and printed in my name, was my own; and I have alſo made known, that your Lordſhip was my onely Tutor, in declaring to me what you had found and obſerved by your own experience; for I being young when your Lordſhip married me, could not have much knowledg of the world; But it pleaſed God to command his Servant Nature to indue me with a Poetical and Philoſophical Genius, even from my Birth; for I did write ſome

Books

Books in that kind, before I was twelve years of Age, which for want of good method and order, I would never divulge. But though the world would not believe that those Conceptions and Fancies which I writ, were my own, but transcended my capacity, yet they found fault, that they were defective for want of Learning; and on the other side, they said I had pluckt Feathers out of the Universities; which was a very prepposterous judgment. Truly My Lord, I confess that for want of Scholarship, I could not express my self so well as otherwise I might have done, in those Philosophical Writings I publish'd first; but after I was returned with your Lordship into my Native Country, and led a retired Country life, I applied my self to the reading of Philosophical Authors, of purpose to learn those names and words of Art that are used in Schools; which at first were so hard to me, that I could not understand them, but was fain to guess at the sense of them by the whole context, and so writ them down as I found them in those Authors, at which my Readers did wonder, and thought it impossible that a Woman could have so much Learning and Understanding in Terms of Art, and Scholastical Expressions; so that I and my Books are like the old Apologue mention'd in Æsop, of a Father, and his Son, who rid on an Ass through a Town when his Father went on Foot, at which sight the People shouted and cried shame, that a young Boy should ride, and let his Father, an old man, go on Foot: whereupon the old Man got upon the Ass, and let his Son go by; but when they came to the next Town, the People

exclaimed

exclaimed againſt the Father, that he a luſty man ſhould ride, and have no more pity of his young and tender child, but let him go on foot: Then both the Father and his Son got upon the Aſs, and coming to the third Town, the People blamed them both for being ſo unconſcionable as to overburden the poor Aſs with their heavy weight: After this both Father and Son went on foot, and led the Aſs; and when they came to the fourth Town, the People railed as much at them as ever the former had done, and called them both Fools, for going on foot, when they had a Beaſt able to carry them. The old Man, ſeeing he could not pleaſe Mankind in any manner, and having received ſo many blemiſhes and aſperſions, for the ſake of his Aſs, was at laſt reſolved to drown him when he came to the next bridg. But I am not ſo paſſionate to burn my Writings for the various humours of Mankind, and for their finding fault, ſince there is nothing in this world, be it the nobleſt and moſt commendable action whatſoever, that ſhall eſcape blameleſs. As for my being the true and onely Authoreſs of them, your Lordſhip knows beſt, and my attending Servants are witneſs that I have had none but my own Thoughts, Fancies and Speculations to aſſiſt me; and as ſoon as I have ſet them down, I ſend them to thoſe that are to tranſcribe them, and fit them for the Preſs; whereof ſince there have been ſeveral, and amongſt them ſuch as onely could write a good hand, but neither underſtood Orthography, nor had any Learning (I being then in baniſhment with your Lordſhip, and not able to maintain learned Secretaries) which hath been a great

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disadvantage to my poor works, and the cause that they have been printed so false, and so full of Errors; for besides that, I want also the skill of Scholarship and true writing, I did many times not peruse the Copies that were transcribed, lest they should disturb my following Conceptions; by which neglect, as I said, many Errors are slipt into my Works, which yet I hope Learned and Impartial Readers will soon rectifie, and look more upon the sense, then carp at words. I have been a Student even from my Childhood; and since I have been your Lordships Wife, I have lived for the most part a strict and retired Life, as is best known to your Lordship, and therefore my Censurers cannot know much of me, since they have little or no acquaintance with me: 'Tis true, I have been a Traveller both before and after I was married to your Lordship, and sometimes shew my self at your Lordships Command in Publick places or Assemblies; but yet I converse with few. Indeed, My Lord, I matter not the Censures of this Age, but am rather proud of them; for it shews that my Actions are more then ordinary, and according to the old Proverb, It is better to be Envied, then Pitied: for I know well, that it is meerly out of spight and malice, whereof this present Age is so full, that none can escape them, and they'l make no doubt to stain even Your Lordships Loyal, Noble and Heroick Actions, as well as they do mine, though yours have been of War and Fighting, mine of Contemplating and Writing: Yours were performed publickly in the Field, mine privately in my Closet: Yours had many thousand Eye-witnesses, mine none

but my Waiting-maids. But the Great God that hath hitherto bleſs'd both Your Grace and me, will, I queſtion not, preſerve both our Fames to after Ages, for which we ſhall be bound moſt humbly to acknowledg his great Mercy; and I my ſelf, as long as I live, be

Your Graces Honeſt Wife,

and Humble Servant

M. NEWCASTLE.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

WHen I firſt Intended to write this Hiſtory, knowing my ſelf to be no Scholar, and as ignorant of the Rules of writing Hiſtories, as I have in my other Works acknowledg'd my ſelf to be of the Names and Terms of Art; I deſired my Lord, That he would be pleaſed to let me have ſome Elegant and Learned Hiſtorian to aſſiſt me; which requeſt his Grace would not grant me; ſaying, That having never had any Aſſiſtance in the writing of my former Books, I ſhould have no other in the writing of his Life, but the Informations from himſelf, and his Secretary, of the chief Tranſactions and Fortunes occurring in it, to the time he married me. I humbly anſwer'd, That without a learned Aſſiſtant, the Hiſtory would be defective: But he replied, That Truth could not be defective. I ſaid again, That

Rhetorick

Rhetorick did adorn Truth: And he anſwer'd, That Rhetorick was fitter for Falſhoods then Truths. Thus I was forced by his Graces Commands, to write this Hiſtory in my own plain Style, without elegant Flouriſhings, or exquiſit Method, relying intirely upon Truth, in the expreſſing whereof, I have been very circumſpect; as knowing well, that his Graces Actions have ſo much Glory of their own, that they need borrow none from any bodies Induſtry.

Many Learned Men, I know, have publiſhed Rules and Directions concerning the Method and Style of Hiſtories, and do with great noiſe, to little purpoſe, make loud exclamations againſt thoſe Hiſtorians, that keeping cloſe to the Truth of their Narrations, cannot think it neceſſary to follow ſlaviſhly ſuch Inſtructions; and there is ſome Men of good Underſtandings, as I have heard, that applaud very much ſeveral Hiſtories, meerly for their Elegant Style, and well-obſerv'd Method; ſetting a high value upon feigned Orations, myſtical Deſigns, and fancied Policies, which are, at the beſt, but pleaſant Romances. Others approve, in the Relations of Wars, and of Military Actions, ſuch tedious Deſcriptions, that the Reader, tired with them, will imagine that there was more time ſpent in Aſſaulting, Defending, and taking of a Fort, or a petty Gariſon, then *Alexander* did employ in conquering the greateſt part of the World: which proves, That ſuch Hiſtorians regard more their

own

own Eloquence, Wit and Induſtry, and the knowledg they believe to have of the Actions of War, and of all manner of Governments, than of the truth of the Hiſtory, which is the main thing, and wherein conſiſts the hardeſt task, very few Hiſtorians knowing the Tranſactions they write of, and much leſs the Counſels, and ſecret Deſigns of many different Parties, which they confidently mention.

Although there be many ſorts of Hiſtories, yet theſe three are the chiefeſt: 1. a General Hiſtory. 2. A National Hiſtory. 3. A Particular Hiſtory. Which three ſorts may, not unfitly, be compared to the three ſorts of Governments, Democracy, Ariſtocracy, and Monarchy. The firſt is the Hiſtory of the known parts and people of the World; The ſecond is the Hiſtory of a particular Nation, Kingdom or Commonwealth. The third is the Hiſtory of the life and actions of ſome particular Perſon. The firſt is profitable for Travellers, Navigators and Merchants; the ſecond is pernicious, by reaſon it teaches ſubtil Policies, begets Factions, not onely between particular Families and Perſons, but alſo between whole Nations, and great Princes, rubbing old ſores, and renewing old Quarrels, that would otherwiſe have been forgotten. The laſt is the moſt ſecure; becauſe it goes not out of its own Circle, but turns on its own Axis, and for the moſt part, keeps within the Circumference of Truth. The firſt is Mechanical, the ſecond

Political, and the third Heroical. The first should onely be written by Travellers, and Navigators The second by Statesmen; The third by the Prime Actors, or the Spectators of those Affairs and Actions of which they write, as *Cæsars* Commentaries are, which no Pen but of such an Author, who was also Actor in the particular Occurrences, private Intrigues, secret Counsels, close Designs, and rare Exploits of War he relates, could ever have brought to so high Perfection.

This History is of the Third sort, as that is; and being of the Life and Actions of my Noble Lord and Husband, who hath informed me of all the particular passages I have recorded, I cannot, though neither Actor, nor Spectator, be thought ignorant of the Truth of what I write; Nor is it inconsistent with my being a Woman, to write of Wars, that was neither between *Medes* and *Persians*, *Greeks* and *Trojans*, *Christians* and *Turks*; but among my own Countreymen, whose Customs and Inclinations, and most of the Persons that held any considerable Place in the Armies, was well known to me; and besides all that (which is above all) my Noble and Loyal Lord did act a chief Part in that fatal Tragedy, to have defended (if humane power could have done it) his most Gracious Soveraign, from the fury of his Rebellious Subjects.

This

This Hiſtory being (as I have ſaid) of a particular Perſon, his Actions, and Fortunes; it cannot be expected, that I ſhould here Preach of the beginning of the World; nor ſeem to expreſs underſtanding in the Politicks, by tedious moral Diſcourſes, with long Obſervations upon the ſeveral ſorts of Government that have been in *Greece* & *Rome*, and upon others more modern; I will neither endeavour to make ſhow of Eloquence, making Speeches that never was ſpoken, nor pretend to great skill in War, by making Mountains of Mole-hills, and telling Romantical Falſhoods for Hiſtorical Truths; and much leſs will I write to amuſe my Readers, in a myſtical and allegorical Style, of the diſloyal Actions of the oppoſite Party, of the Treacherous Cowardiſe, Envy and Malice of ſome Perſons, my Lords Enemies, and of the ingratitude of ſome of his ſeeming Friends; wherein I cannot better obey his Lordſhips Commands to conceal thoſe things, then in leaving them quite out, as I do, with ſubmiſſion to his Lordſhips deſire, from whom I have learn'd Patience to overcome my Paſſions, and Diſcretion to yield to his Prudence.

Thus am I reſolved to write, in a natural plain ſtyle, without Latin Sentences, moral Inſtructions, politick Deſigns, feigned Orations, or envious and malicious Exclamations, this ſhort Hiſtory of the Loyal, Heroick and Prudent Actions of my Noble Lord, as alſo of his Sufferings, Loſſes, and ill-Fortunes,

which

which in honour and Conſcience I could not ſuffer to be buried in ſilence.; nor could I have undertaken ſo hard a task, had not my love to his Perſon, and to Truth, been my Encourager and Supporter.

I might have made this Book larger; in tranſcribing (as is ordinary in Hiſtories) the ſeveral Letters, full of Affection, and kind promiſes he received from His Gracious Soveraign, *Charles* the Firſt, and from his Royal Conſort, in the time he was in the Actions of War, as alſo ſince the War, from his dear Soveraign and Maſter, *Charles* the Second; But many of the former Letters having been loſt, when all was loſt; I thought it beſt, ſeeing I had not them all, to print none. As for Orations, which is another way of ſwelling the bulk of Hiſtories; it is certain, that My Lord made not many; chuſing rather to fight, then to talk; and his Declarations having been printed already, it had been ſuperfluous to inſert them in theſe Narrations.

This Book would however, have been a great Volume, if his Grace would have given me leave to publiſh his Enemies Actions; But being to write of his own onely, I do it briefly and truly; and not as many have done, who have written of the late Civil War, with but few ſprinklings of Truth, like as Heat-drops upon a dry barren Ground; knowing no more of the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, then what they learned in the Gazets, which, for the moſt part, (out of Po-

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licy to amuſe and deceive the People) contain nothing but Falſhoods and Chimeraes; and were ſuch Paraſites, that after the Kings Party was over-powred, the Government among the Rebels changing from one Faction to another, they never miſs'd to exalt highly the Merits of the chief Commanders of the then prevailing ſide, comparing ſome of them to *Moſes*, and ſome others to all the great and moſt famous Heroes, both Greeks and Romans; wherein, unawares, they exceedingly commended my Noble Lord; for if thoſe Ring-leaders of Factions were ſo great men as they are reported to be, by thoſe Time-ſervers, How much greater muſt his Lordſhip be, who beat moſt of them, except the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe employment was never in the Northern parts, where all the reſt of the greateſt ſtrength of the Parliament was ſent, to oppoſe my Lord's Forces, which was the greateſt the Kings Party had any where.

Good Fortune is ſuch an Idol of the World, and is ſo like the golden Calf worſhipped by the Iſraelites, that thoſe Arch-Rebels never wanted Aſtrologers to foretel them good ſucceſs in all their Enterpriſes, nor Poets to ſing their Praiſes, nor Orators for Panegyricks; nay, which is worſe, nor Hiſtorians neither, to record their Valour in fighting, and Wiſdom in Governing. But being, ſo much as I am, above baſe Profit, or any Preferment whatſoever, I cannot fear to be ſuſpected of Flattery, in declaring

to the World the Merits, Wealth, Power, Loyalty, and Fortunes of My Noble Lord, who hath done great Actions, ſuffered great Loſſes, endured a long Baniſhment, for his Loyalty to his King and Countrey; and leads now, like another *Scipio*, a quiet Countrey-life. If notwithſtanding all this, any ſhould ſay, That thoſe who write Hiſtories of themſelves; and their own actions, or of their own Party, or inſtruct and inform thoſe that write them, are partial to themſelves; I anſwer, That it is very improbable, Worthy Perſons, who having done Great, Noble and Heroick Exploits, deſerving to be recorded, ſhould be ſo vain, as to write falſe Hiſtories; but if they do, it proves but their Folly; for Truth can never be concealed, and ſo it will be more for their diſgrace, then for their Honour or Fame. I fear not any ſuch blemiſhes in this preſent Hiſtory, for I am conſcious of any ſuch Crime as Patiality or Falſhood, but write it whileſt My Noble Lord is yet alive, and at ſuch a time where Truth may be declared, and Falſhood contradicted; and I challenge any one (although I be a Woman) to contradict any thing that I have ſet down, or prove it to be otherwiſe then Truth; for be there never ſo many Contradictions, Truth will conquer all at laſt.

Concerning My Lords Actions in War, which are comprehended in the firſt Book, the relation of them I have chiefly from my Lords Secretary Mr. *Rolleſton*, a Perſon that has been an Eye-witneſs thereof, and

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accompanied My Lord as Secretary in his Army, and gave out all his Commiſſions; his honeſty and worth is unqueſtionable by all that know him. And as for the Second Book, which contains My Lords Actions and Sufferings, during the time of his Exile, I have ſet down ſo much as I could poſſibly call to mind, without any particular Expreſſion of time, onely from the time of his Baniſhment, or rather (what I can remember) from the time of my Marriage, till our return into *England*. To the end of which I have joined a Computation of My Lord's Loſſes, which he hath ſuffered by thoſe unfortunate Warres. In the third Book I have ſet down ſome particular Chapters concerning the Deſcription of his Perſon, his Natural Faculties, and Perſonal Vertues, *&c.* And in the laſt, ſome Eſſayes and Diſcourſes of My Lords, together with ſome Notes and Remarques of mine own; which I thought moſt convenient to place by themſelves at the end of this Work, rather then to intermingle them with the Body of the Hiſtory.

It might be ſome prejudice to my Lord's Glory, and the credit of this Hiſtory, not to take notice of a very conſiderable thing I have heard, which is, That when his Lordſhip's Army had got ſo much Strength and Reputation, that the Rebellious Parliament finding themſelves overpower'd with it, rather then to be utterly ruin'd, (as was unavoidable) did call the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance, with a promiſe to reward ſo

great

great a Service, with the Four Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, which I have not mention'd in the Book.

And it is moſt certain, That the Parliaments Forces were never Powerful, nor their Commanders or Officers Famous, until ſuch time as my Lord was overpower'd; neither could Loyalty have been overpower'd by Rebellion, had not Treachery had better Fortune then Prudence.

When I ſpeak of my Lord's Pedigree, where *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, Grandfather to the now Duke of *Norfolk*, is mention'd, they have left out *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, one of his Sons, who did marry the Heir of the laſt Baron *Stafford*, deſcended from the Dukes of *Buckingham*; which was ſet down in my Original Manuſcript.

Some of thoſe Omiſſions, and very probably others, are happened, partly for want of timely Information, and chiefly by the death of my Secretary, who did copy my Writings for the Preſs, and dy'd in *London*, attending that Service, afore the Printing of the Book was quite finiſh'd. And as I hope of your Favour to be excus'd for omitting thoſe things in the Book; ſo I expect of your Juſtice to be approv'd in putting them here, though ſomewhat unſeaſonably.

Before I end this Preface, I do beſeech my Readers not to miſtake me when I ſpeak of my Lord's Baniſh-

ment,

ment, as if I would conceal that he went voluntarily out of his Native Country; for it is moſt true, that his Lordſhip prudently perceiving all the King's Party loſt, not onely in *England*, but alſo in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that it was impoſſible to withſtand the Rebels, after the fatal overthrow of his Army; his Lordſhip, in a poor and mean condition quitted his own Countrey, and went beyond Sea; ſoon after which, the Rebels having got an Abſolute Power, and granted a general Pardon to all thoſe that would come in to them, upon compoſition, at the Rates they had ſet down, his Lordſhip, with but few others, was excepted from it, both for Life and Eſtate, and did remain thus baniſh'd till His Majeſties happy Reſtauration.

I muſt alſo acknowledg, That I have committed great Errors in taking no notice of Times as I ſhould have done in many places of this Hiſtory: I mention in one place the Queen Mothers being in *France*, when my Lord went thither, but do not ſay in what year that was: Nor do I expreſs when His Majeſty (our now Gracious Soveraign) came in, and went out again ſeveral times from that Kingdom, which has happen'd for want of Memory, and I deſire my Readers to excuſe me for it.

No body can certainly be more ready to find faults in this Work, then I am to confeſs them; being very conſcious that I have, as I told my Lord I ſhould, committed many for want of Learning, and chiefly

of

of skill in writing Hiſtories: But having, according to his Lordſhips Commands, written his Actions and Fortunes truly and plainly, I have reaſon to expect, that whatſoever elſe ſhall be found amiſs, will be favourably pardoned by the candid Readers, to whom I wiſh all manner of happineſs.

AN

AN EPISTLE TO HER GRACE THE Dutchess of Newcastle.

May it please your Grace,

I Have been taught, and do believe, That Obedience is better then Sacrifice; and know, that both are due from me to your Grace; and since I have been so long in obeying your Commands, I shall not presume to use any Arguments for my excuse, but rather chuse ingeniously to confess my fault, and beg your Graces Pardon. And because forgiveness is a Glory to the supreamest Powers, I will hope that your Grace by that great example will make it yours. And now

I humbly take leave to represent to your Grace, as faithfully and truly as my memory will serve me, all my Observations of the most memorable Actions, and honourable Deportments of His Grace, my most Noble Lord and Master, William *Duke of* Newcastle, *in the Execution and Performance of the Trusts and high Employments committed and commended to his care and charge by three Kings of* England; *that is to say, King* James, *King* Charles *the First, of ever blessed Memory; and our Gracious King,* Charles *the Second; under whom he hath had the happiness to live, and the honour to serve them in several capacities: And because I humbly conceive, that it is not within the intention of your Graces Commands, that I should give you a particular Relation of His Graces High Birth, his Noble and Princely Education and Breeding, both at home and abroad; his Natural Faculties, and Personal Vertues; his Justice, Bounty, Charity, Friendship; his Right Approved Courage, and True Valour, not grounded upon, or govern'd by Passion, but Reason; his Magnificent manner of living and supporting his Dignity, testified by his great Entertainments of their Majesties, and his private Friends, upon all fit occasions, besides his ordinary and constant House-keeping and Attendants; some for Honour, and some for business, wherein he exceeded most of his Quality; and that he was, and is an incomparable Master to his Servants, is sufficiently testified by all or most of the chiefest of them, living and dying in His Graces Service, which is an Argument that they thought themselves as*

happy

happy therein, as the World could make them; nor of his well-choſen Pleaſures, which were principally Horſes of all ſorts, but more particularly Horſes of Mannage; His Study and Art of the true uſe of the Sword; His Magnificent Buidings. Theſe are his chiefeſt Delights, wherein his Grace ſpared for no coſt nor charge, which are ſufficiently manifeſted to the World; for other Delights, as thoſe of running Horſes, Hawking, Hunting, &c. His Grace uſed them meerly for ſocieties ſake, and out of a generous and obliging Nature to pleaſe others, though his knowledg in them excelled, as well as in the other. And yet notwithſtanding theſe his large and vaſt expences, before his Grace was called to the Court, he encreaſed his Revenue by way of Purchaſe to a great value; and when he was called to the Court, he was then free from Debts, and, as I have heard, ſome Thouſands of Pounds in his Purſe. Theſe Particulars, and as many more of this kind as would ſwell a Volume, I could enumeriate to your Grace; but that they are ſo well known to your Grace, it would be a Preſumption in me, rather then a Service, to give your Grace that trouble; and therefore I humbly forbear, and proceed, according to my Intention, to give your Grace a faithful account of Your Graces Commands, as becomes

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Your Graces moſt humble,

and moſt obedient Servant,

John Rolleſton.

THA.

THE LIFE OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE, WILLIAM Duke of Newcaſtle.

The Firſt Book.

SInce my chief intent in this preſent Work, is to deſcribe the Life and Actions of My Noble Lord and Husband, *William, Duke of Newcaſtle*, I ſhall do it with as much Brevity, Perſpicuity and Truth, as is required of an Impartial Hiſtorian. The Hiſtory of his Pedigree I ſhall refer to the Heralds, and partly give you an account thereof at the latter end of this work; onely thus much I ſhall now mention, as will be requiſite for the better underſtanding of the following diſcourſe.

His Grandfather by his Fathers ſide was Sir *William Cavendiſh*, Privy Counſellour and Treaſurer of the Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. His Grandfather by his Mother was *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, an ancient Baron. His Father Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* was the youngeſt ſon to Sir *William*; who had no other Children but three Sons, whereof My Lord was the Second; but his elder Brother dying in his Infancy, left both his Title and Birth-right to My Lord, ſo that My Lord had then but one onely Brother left, whoſe name was *Charles* after his Father, whereas My Lord had the name of his Grandfather.

Theſe two Brothers were partly bred with *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* their Uncle in Law, and their Aunt *Mary*, Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*, *Gilbert's* Wife, and Siſter to their Father; for there interceded an intire and conſtant Friendſhip between the ſaid *Gilbert*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and My Lord's Father, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, cauſed not onely by the marriage of My Lord's Aunt, his Fathers Siſter, to the aforeſaid *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and by the marriage of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Gilbert's* Father, with My Lord's Grandmother, by his Fathers ſide; but Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, My Lord's Father, and *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, being brought up and bred together in one Family, and grown up as parts of one body, after they came to be beyond Children, and travelled together

ther into foreign Countries, to obſerve the Faſhions, Laws, and Cuſtoms of other Natious, contracted ſuch an intire Friendſhip which laſted to their death: neither did they out-live each other long, for My Lord's Father, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, lived but one year after *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

But both My Lords Parents, and his Aunt and Uncle in Law, ſhewed always a great and fond love to My Lord, endeavouring, when He was but a Child, to pleaſe him with what he moſt delighted in. When He was grown to the Age of fifteen or ſixteen, he was made Knight of the *Bath*, an ancient and honourable Order, at the time when *Henry*, King *James*, of bleſſed Memory, His eldeſt Son was created Prince of *Wales*: and ſoon after, he went to travel with Sir *Henry Wotton*, who was ſent as Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the then *Duke* of *Savoy*; which Duke made very much of My Lord, and when he would be free in Feaſting, placed Him next to himſelf. Before My Lord did return with the Ambaſſador into *England*, the ſaid Duke profer'd My Lord, that if he would ſtay with him, he would not onely confer upon him the beſt Titles of Honour he could, but alſo give him an honourable Command in War, although My Lord was but young, for the Duke had then ſome deſigns of War. But the Ambaſſador, who had taken the care of My Lord, would not leave Him behind without his Parents conſent.

At

At laſt, when My Lord took his leave of the Duke, the Duke being a very generous perſon, preſented Him with a *Spaniſh* Horſe, a Saddle very richly embroidered, and with a rich Jewel of Diamonds.

Some time after My Lord's return into *England*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* died, and left My Lord, though he was then but young, and about Twenty two years of age, his Executor; a year after, his Father Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, died alſo. His Mother, being then a Widow, was deſirous that My Lord ſhould marry: in obedience to whoſe Commands, he choſe a Wife both to his own good liking, and his Mothers approving; who was Daughter and Heir to *William Baſſet* of *Blore* Eſq; a very honourable and ancient Family in *Stafford-ſhire*, by whom was added a great part to His Eſtate, as hereafter ſhall be mentioned. After My Lord was married, he lived, for the moſt part, in the Country, and pleaſed Himſelf and his neighbours with Hoſpitality, and ſuch delights as the Country afforded; onely now and then he would go up to *London* for ſome ſhort time to wait on the King.

About this time King *James*, of bleſſed memory, having a purpoſe to confer ſome Honour upon My Lord, made him Viſcount *Mansfield*, and Baron of *Bolſover*; and after the deceaſe of King *James*, King *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, conſtituted him Lord Warden of the Forreſt of *Sherewood*, and Lieu-

tenant

tenant of *Nottingham-ſhire*, and reſtored his Mother *Catharine*, the ſecond Daughter of *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*; to her Fathers Dignity, after the death of her onely Siſter *Jane* Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*, publickly declaring, that it was her Right; which Title after the death of his Mother, deſcended alſo upon My Lord, and his Heirs General, together with a large Inheritance of 3000 l. a year, in *Northumberland*.

About the ſame time, after the deceaſe of *William*, late Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Noble Couſin German, My Lord was by his ſaid Majeſty made Lord Lieutenant of *Derby-ſhire*; which truſt and honour, after he had enjoyed for ſeveral years, and managed it, like as all other offices put to his Truſt, with all poſſible care, faithfulneſs and dexterity, during the time of the ſaid Earls Son, *William* the now Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Minority, as ſoon as this ſame Earl was come to age, and by Law made capable of that truſt, he willingly and freely reſign'd it into his hands, he having hitherto kept it onely for him, that he and no body elſe might ſucceed his Father in that dignity.

In theſe, and all other both publick and private imployments, My Lord hath ever been careful to keep up the Kings Rights to the uttermoſt of his power, to ſtrengthen thoſe mentioned Counties with Ammunition, and to adminiſter Juſtice to every one; for he refuſed no mans Petition, but ſent all that came to him either for relief or juſtice, away from him fully ſatisfied.

Not long after his being made Lieutenant of *Nottingham-ſhire*, there was found ſo great a defect of Armes and Ammunition in that County, that the Lords of the Council being advertiſed thereof, as the manner then was, His Majeſty commanded a levy to be made upon the whole County for the ſupply thereof; whereupon the ſum of 500 l. or thereabout, was accordingly levied for that purpoſe, and three Perſons of Quality, then Deputy Lieutenants, were deſired by My Lord to receive the money, and ſee it diſpoſed; which being done accordingly, and a certain account rendred to My Lord, he voluntarily ordered the then Clerk of the Peace of that County, That the ſame account ſhould be recorded amongſt the Seſſions Roles, and be publiſhed in open Seſſions, to the end that the Country might take notice, how their monies were diſpoſed of; for which act of Juſtice My Lord was highly commended.

Within ſome few years after, King *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, His Gracious Soveraign, in regard of His true and faithful ſervice to his King and Country, was pleaſed to honour him with the Title of *Earl of Newcaſtle*, and *Baron of Bothal* and *Heple*; which Title he graced ſo much by His Noble Actions and Deportments, that ſome ſeven years after, which was in the Year 1638. His Majeſty called him up to Court, and thought Him the fitteſt Perſon whom He might intruſt with the Government

of

of His Son *Charles* then Prince of *Wales*, now our moſt Gracious King, and made him withal a Member of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt honourable Privy Council; which, as it was a great Honour and Truſt, ſo He ſpared no care and induſtry to diſcharge His Duty accordingly; and to that end, left all the care of governing his own Family and Eſtate, with all Fidelity attending His Maſter not without conſiderable Charges, and vaſt Expences of his own.

In this preſent Employment He continued for the ſpace of three Years, during which time there happened an Inſurrection and Rebellion of His Majeſties diſcontented Subjects in *Scotland*, which forced His Majeſty to raiſe an Army, to reduce them to their Obedience, and His Treaſury being at that time exhauſted, he was neceſſitated to deſire ſome ſupply and aſſiſtance of the Nobleſt and Richeſt of his Loyal Subjects; amongſt the reſt, My Lord lent His Majeſty 10000 l. and raiſed Himſelf a Voluntier-Troop of Horſe, which conſiſted of 120 Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, who marched to *Berwick* by His Majeſties Command, where it pleaſed His Majeſty to ſet this mark of Honour upon that Troop, that it ſhould be Independent, and not commanded by any General Officer, but onely by his Majeſty Himſelf; The reaſon thereof was upon this following occaſion.

His Majeſties whole body of Horſe, being commanded to march into *Scotland* againſt the Rebels, a place was appointed for their Rendezvous; Immediately upon their meeting, My Lord ſent a Gentleman of Quality of his Troop * to His Majeſties then General of the Horſe, to know where his Troop ſhould march; who returned this anſwer, That it was to march next after the Troops of the General Officers of the Field. My Lord conceiving that his Troop ought to march in the Van, and not in the Rear, ſent the ſame Meſſenger back again to the General, to inform him, That he had the honour to march with the Princes Colours, and therefore he thought it not fit to march under any of the Officers of the Field; yet nevertheleſs the General ordered that Troop as he had formerly directed. Whereupon, My Lord thinking it unfit at that time to diſpute the buſineſs, immediately commanded his Cornet * to take off the Princes Colours from his ſtaff, and ſo marched in the place appointed, chooſing rather to march without his Colours flying, then to leſſen his Maſters dignity by the command of any ſubject.

*Sir *William Carnaby*, Kt.

* Mr. *Gray*, Brother to the Lord *Gray* of the North.

Immediately after the return from that expedition to his Majeſties Leaguer, the General made a complaint thereof to his Majeſty; who being truly informed of the buſineſs, commended my Lords diſcretion for it, and from that time ordered that Troop to be commanded by none but himſelf. Thus they remain'd

main'd upon duty **without receiving any pay or allowance from His Majesty**, until His Majesty had reduced his Rebellious Subjects, and then My Lord returned with honour to his Charge, *viz.* The Government of the Prince.

At last when the whole Army was disbanded, then, and not before, my Lord thought it a fit Time to exact an account from the said General for the affront he pass'd upon him, and sent him a Challenge; the place and hour being appointed by both their Consents, where and when to meet, My Lord appear'd there with his Second *, but found not his Opposite: After some while his Opposite's Second came all alone, by whom my Lord perceiv'd that their Design had been discover'd to the King by some of his Opposite's Friends, who presently caused them both to be confined until he had made their Peace.

* Francis Palmes.

My Lord having hitherto attended the Prince, his Master, with all faithfulness and duty befitting so great an Employment, for the space of three years, in the beginning of that Rebellious and unhappy Parliament, which was the cause of all the ruines and misfortunes that afterwards befell this Kingdom, was privately advertised, that the Parliaments Design was to take the Government of the Prince from him, which he apprehending as a disgrace to Himself, wisely prevented, and obtained the Consent of His late Majesty, with His Favour, to deliver up the

Charge of being Governor to the Prince, and retire into the Countrey; which he did in the beginning of the Year 1641, and ſetled himſelf, with his Lady, Children and Family, to his great ſatisfaction, with an intent to have continued there, and reſted under his own Vine, and managed his own Eſtate; but he had not enjoyed himſelf long, but an Expreſs came to him from His Majeſty, who was then unjuſtly and unmannerly treated by the ſaid Parliament, to repair with all poſſible ſpeed and privacy, to *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, where the greateſt part of His Majeſties Ammunition and Arms then remained in that Magazine, it being the moſt conſiderable place for ſtrength in the Northern parts of the Kingdom.

Immediately upon the receipt of theſe His Majeſties Orders and Commands, my Lord prepared for their execution, and about Twelve of the Clock at night, haſtned from his own houſe when his Familie were all at their reſt, ſave two or three Servants which he appointed to attend him. The next day early in the morning he arrived at *Hull*, in the quality of a private Gentleman, which place was diſtant from his houſe forty miles; and none of his Family that were at home, knew what was become of him, till he ſent an Expreſs to his Lady to inform her where he was.

Thus

Thus being admitted into the Town, he fell upon his intended Deſign, and brought it to ſo hopeful an iſſue for His Majeſties *Service*, that he wanted nothing but His Majeſties further Commiſſion and Pleaſure to have ſecured both the Town and Magazine for His Majeſties uſe; and to that end by a ſpeedy Expreſs * gave His *Majeſty*, who was then at *Windſor*, an account of all his Tranſactions therein, together with his Opinion of them, hoping His Majeſty would have been pleaſed either to come thither in Perſon, which He might have done with much ſecurity, or at leaſt have ſent him a Commiſſion and Orders how he ſhould do His Majeſty further Service.

* Capt. Mazine.

But inſtead thereof he received Orders from His Majeſty to obſerve ſuch Directions as he ſhould receive from the Parliament then ſitting: Whereupon he was ſummoned perſonally to appear at the Houſe of Lords, and a Committee choſen to examine the Grounds and Reaſons of his undertaking that Deſign; but my Lord ſhewed them his Commiſſion, and that it was done in obedience to His Majeſties Commands, and ſo was cleared of that Action.

Not long after, my Lord obtained the freedom from His Majeſty to retire again to his Countrey-Life, which he did with much alacrity: He had not remained many months there, but His Majeſty

was

was forced by the fury of the ſaid Parliament, to repair in Perſon to *York*, and to ſend the Queen beyond the Seas for her ſafety.

No ſooner was His Majeſty arrived at *York*, but he ſent his Gommands to my Lord to come thither to him; which according to his wonted cuſtom and loyalty he readily obeyed, and after a few days ſpent there in Conſultation, His Majeſty was pleaſed to Command him to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, to take upon him the Government of that Town, and the four Counties next adjoining; that is to ſay, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*: which my Lord did accordingly, although he wanted Men, Money and Ammunition, for the performance of that deſign; for when he came thither, he neither found any Military proviſion conſiderable for the undertaking that work, nor generally any great encouragement from the people in thoſe parts, more then what his own intereſt created in them; Nevertheleſs, he thought it his duty rather to hazard all, then to neglect the Commands of His Soveraign; and reſolved to ſhew his Fidelity, by nobly ſetting all at ſtake, as he did, though he well knew how to have ſecured himſelf, as too many others did, either by Neutrality, or adhering to the Rebellious Party; but his Honour and Loyalty was too great to be ſtained with ſuch foul adherencies.

As

As ſoon as my Lord came to *Newcaſtle*, in the firſt place he ſent for all his Tenants and Friends in thoſe parts, and preſently raiſed a Troop of Horſe conſiſting of 120. and a Regiment of Foot, and put them under Command, and upon duty and exerciſe in the Town of *Newcaſtle*; and with this ſmall beginning took the Government of that place upon him; where with the aſſiſtance of the Towns-men, particularly the Mayor,* (whom by the power of his Forces, he continued Mayor for the year following, he being a perſon of much truſt and fidelity, as he approved himſelf) and the reſt of his Brethren, within few days he fortified the Town, and raiſed men daily, and put a Garriſon of Soldiers into *Tinmouth*-Caſtle, ſtanding upon the River *Tyne*, betwixt *Newcaſtle* and the Sea, to ſecure that Port, and armed the Soldiers as well as he could: And thus he ſtood upon his Guard, and continued them upon Duty; playing his weak Game with much Prudence, and giving the Town and Country very great ſatisfaction by his noble and honourable Deportment.

* Sir *John Marlay* Kt.

In the mean time, there happend a great mutiny of the Trainband Souldiers of the Biſhoprick at *Durham*, ſo that my Lord was forced to remove thither in Perſon, attended with ſome forces to appeaſe them; where at his arrival (I mention it by the way, and as a merry paſſage) a jovial Fellow uſed this expreſſion, That he liked my Lord very well, but

not his Company (meaning his Soldiers.)

After my Lord had reduced them to their obedience and duty, he took great care of the Church Government in the ſaid Biſhoprick (as he did no leſs in all other places committed to his Care and Protection, well knowing that Schiſm and Faction in Religion is the Mother of all or moſt Rebellions, Wars and Diſturbances in a State or Government) and conſtituted that Learned and Eminent Divine the then Dean of *Peterborough*, now Lord-Biſhop of *Durham* *, to view all Sermons that were to be Preached, and ſuffer nothing in them that in the leaſt reflected againſt His Majeſties Perſon and Government, but to put forth and add whatſoever he thought convenient, and puniſh thoſe that ſhould treſpaſs againſt it. In which that worthy Perſon uſed ſo much care and induſtry, that never the Church could be more happily govern'd then it was at that preſent.

* Dr. Cooſens.

Some ſhort time after, my Lord received from Her Majeſty the Queen, out of *Holland* a ſmall ſupply of Money, *viz.* a little barrel of Ducatoons, which amounted to about 500 l. *Sterling*; which my Lord diſtributed amongſt the Officers of his new raiſed Army, to encourage them the better in their ſervice; as alſo ſome Armes, the moſt part whereof were conſigned to his late Majeſty; and thoſe that were ordered to be conveyed to his Majeſty, were ſent accordingly, conducted by that onely Troop of Horſe, which my

Lord

Lord had newly raiſed, with orders to return again to him; but it ſeems His Majeſty liked the Troop ſo well, that he was pleaſed to command their ſtay to recruit his own Army.

About the ſame time the King of *Denmark* was likewiſe pleaſed to ſend His Majeſty a Ship, which arrived at *Newcaſtle*, laden with ſome Ammunition, Armes, Regiment Pieces, and *Daniſh* Clubs; which my Lord kept for the furniſhing of ſome Forces which he intended to raiſe for His Majeſties ſervice; for he perceiving the flames increaſe more and more in both the Houſes of Parliament then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, againſt his Majeſties Perſon and Government; upon Conſultation with his Friends and Allies, and the intereſt he had in thoſe Northern parts, took a reſolution to raiſe an Army for His Majeſties ſervice, and by an expreſs acquainted His Majeſty with his deſign; who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ſent him Commiſſions for that purpoſe, to conſtitute him General of all the Forces raiſed and to be raiſed in all the parts of the Kingdom, *Trent-North*, and moreover in the ſeveral Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Leiceſter*, *Rutland*, *Cambridg*, *Huntington*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*, and Commander in Chief for the ſame; as alſo to impower and authorize him to confer the honour of Knighthood upon ſuch Perſons as he ſhould conceive deſerved it, and to coin Money and Print whenſoever he ſaw occaſion

for

for it: Which as it was not onely a great Honour, but a great Truſt and Power; ſo he uſed it with much diſcretion and wiſdom, onely in ſuch occurrencies, where he found it tending to the advancement of His Majeſties Service, and conferr'd the honour of Knighthood ſparingly, and but on ſuch perſons, whoſe Valiant and Loyal Actions did juſtly deſerve it, ſo that he Knighted in all to the number of Twelve.

Within a ſhort time, my Lord formed an Army of 8000 Foot, Horſe and Dragoons, and put them into a condition to march in the beginning of *November* 1642. No ſooner was this effected, but the Inſurrection grew high in *York-ſhire*, in ſo much, that moſt of His Majeſties good ſubjects of that County, as well the Nobility as Gentry, were forced for the preſervation of their perſons, to retire to the City of *York*, a walled Town, but of no great ſtrength; and hearing that my Lord had not onely kept thoſe Counties in the Northen parts generally faithful to his Majeſty, but raiſed an Army for His Majeſties Intereſt, and the protection of his good ſubjects; thought it convenient to employ and authoriſe ſome perſons of Quality to attend upon my Lord, and treat with him on their behalf, that he would be pleaſed to give them the aſſiſtance of his Army, which my Lord granted them upon ſuch Terms as did highly advance His Majeſties Service, which was my Lords chief and onely aim.

Thus

Thus my Lord being with his Army invited into *York-ſhire*, He prepared for it with all the ſpeed that the nature of that buſineſs could poſſibly permit; and after he had fortified the Town of *Newcaſtle*, *Tynmouthcaſtle*, *Hartlepool* (a Haven Town) and ſome other neceſſary Gariſons in thoſe parts, and Mann'd, Victuall'd and order'd their conſtant ſupply, He thought it fit in the firſt place, before he did march, to manifeſt to the World by a Declaration in Print, the reaſons and grounds of his undertaking that deſign; which were in General, for the preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon and Government, and the defence of the Orthodox Church of *England*; where He alſo ſatisfied thoſe that murmur'd for my Lords receiving into his Army ſuch as were of the Catholick Religion, and then he preſently marched with his Army into *York-ſhire* to their aſſiſtance, and within the time agreed upon, came to *York*, notwithſtanding the Enemies Forces gave him all the interruption they poſſibly could, at ſeveral paſſes; whereof the chief was at *Pierce-bridg*, at the entering into *York-ſhire*, where 1500 of the Enemies Forces, Commanded in chief by Col. *Hotham*, were ready to interrupt my Lord's Forces, ſent thither to ſecure that paſſe, conſiſting of a Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Thomas Howard*, and a Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Sir *William Lambton*, which they performed with ſo much Courage, that they routed the

Enemy, and put them to flight, although the ſaid Col. *Howard* in that Charge loſt his life by an unfortunate ſhot.

The Enemy thus miſſing of their deſign, fled until they met with a conjunction of their whole Forces at *Tadcaſter*, ſome eight miles diſtant from *York*, and my Lord went on without any other conſiderable Interruption. Being come to *York*, he drew up his whole Army before the Town, both Horſe and Foot, where the Commander in Chief, the then Earl of *Cumberland*, together with the Gentry of the Country, came to wait on my Lord, and the then Governor of *York*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, preſented him with the Keys of the City.

Thus my Lord marched into the Town with great joy, and to the general ſatisfaction both of the Nobility and Gentry, and moſt of the Citizens; and immediately without any delay, in the later end of *December* 1642, fell upon Conſultations how he might beſt proceed to ſerve his King and Country; and particularly, how his Army ſhould be maintained and paid, (as he did alſo afterwards in every Country whereſoever he marched) well knowing, that no Army can be governed without being conſtantly and regularly ſupported by proviſion and pay. Whereupon it was agreed, That the Nobility and Gentry of the ſeveral Counties, ſhould ſelect a certain number of themſelves to raiſe money

by

by a regular Tax, for the making proviſions for the ſupport and maintenance of the Army, rather than to leave them to free-quarter, and to carve for themſelves; and if any of the Soldiers were exorbitant and diſorderly, and that it did appear ſo to thoſe that were authoriſed to examine their deportment, that preſently order ſhould be given to repair thoſe injuries out of the moneys levied for the Soldiery; by which means the Country was preſerved from many inconveniences, which otherwiſe would doubtleſs have followed.

And though the ſeaſon of the year might well have invited my Lord to take up his Winter-quarters, it being about *Chriſtmas*; yet after he had put a good Gariſon into the City of *York*, and fortified it, upon intelligence that the Enemy was ſtill at *Tadcaſter*, and had fortified that place, he reſolved to march thither. The greateſt part of the Town ſtands on the Weſt ſide of a River not fordable in any place near thereabout, nor allowing any paſſage into the Town from *York*, but over a Stone-bridge, which the Enemy had made impaſſable by breaking down part of the Bridg, and planting their Ordnance upon it, and by raiſing a very large and ſtrong Fort upon the top of a Hill, leading Eaſtward from that Bridg towards *York*, upon deſign of commanding the Bridg and all other places fit to draw up an Army in, or to plant Cannon againſt them.

But

But notwithſtanding all theſe Diſcouragements, my Lord after he had refreſh'd his Army at *York*, and recruited his proviſions, ordered a march before the ſaid Town in this manner: That the greateſt part of his Horſe and Dragoons ſhould in the night march to a Paſs at *Weatherby*, five miles diſtant from *Tadcaſter*, towards North-weſt, from thence under the Command of his then Lieutenant General of the Army, to appear on the Weſt ſide of *Tadcaſter* early the next morning, by which time my Lord with the reſt of his Army reſolved to appear at the Eaſt-ſide of the ſaid Town; which intention was well deſign'd, but ill executed; for though my Lord with that part of the Army which he commanded in perſon, that is to ſay, his Foot and Cannon, attended by ſome Troops of Horſe, did march that night, and early in the morning appear'd before the Town on the Eaſt ſide thereof, and there drew up his Army, planted his Cannon, and cloſely and orderly beſieged that ſide of the Town, and from ten in the morning till four a Clock in the afternoon, battered the Enemies Forts and Works, as being in continual expectation of the appearance of the Troops on the other ſide, according to his order; yet (whether it was out of Neglect or Treachery that my Lords Orders were not obeyed) that days Work was rendred ineffectual as to the whole Deſign.

How-

However the vigilancy of My Lord did put the Enemy into ſuch a Terror, that they forſook that Fort, and ſecretly fled away with all their Train that very night to another ſtrong hold not far diſtant from *Tadcaſter*, called *Cawood*-Caſtle, to which, by reaſon of its low and boggy Scituation, and foul and narrow Lanes and paſſages, it was not poſſible for my Lord to purſue them without too great an hazard to his Army; whereas had the Lieutenant General performed his Duty, in all probability the greateſt part of the principal Rebels in *York-ſhire*, would that day have been taken in their own trap, and their further miſchief prevented. My Lord, the next morning, inſtead of ſtorming the Town, (as he had intended) entred without interruption, and there ſtayed ſome few days to refreſh his Army, and order that part of the Country.

In *December* 1642. My Lord thought it fit to march to *Pomfret*, and to quarter his Army in that part of the Country, which was betwixt *Cawood*, and ſome Gariſons of the Enemy, in the weſt part of *York-ſhire*, *viz. Halliſax*, *Bradford*, *Leeds*, *Wakefield*, *&c.* where he remained ſome time to recruit and enlarge his Army, which was much leſſened by erecting of Gariſons, and to keep thoſe parts in order and obedience to His Majeſty; And after he had thus ordered his Affairs, He was enabled to give Protection to thoſe parts of the Country that were moſt willing to embrace it, and

quarter'd his Army for a time in ſuch places which he had reduced. *Tadcaſter*, which ſtood upon a Paſs, he made a Gariſon, or rather a ſtrong Quarter, and put alſo a Gariſon into *Pomfret* Caſtle, not above eight Miles diſtant from *Tadcaſter*, which commanded that Town, and a great part of the Country.

During the time that his Army remained at *Pomfret*, My Lord ſetled a Gariſon at *Newark* in *Nottingham-ſhire*, ſtanding upon the River *Trent*, a very conſiderable paſs, which kept the greateſt part of *Nottingham-ſhire*, and part of *Lincoln-ſhire* in obedience; and after that, he returned in the beginning of *January* 1642, back to *York*, with an intention to ſupply Himſelf with ſome Ammunition, which He had ordered to be brought from *Newcaſtle*: A Convoy of Horſe that were imployed to conduct it from thence, under the Command of the Lieutenant General of the Army the Lord *Ethyn*, was by the Enemy at a paſs, called *Tarum-bridg*, in *York-ſhire*, fiercely encountred; in which encounter My Lord's Forces totally routed them, ſlew many, and took many Priſoners, and moſt of their Horſe Colours conſiſting of Seventeen Cornets; and ſo march'd on to *York* with their Ammunition, without any other Interruption.

My Lord, after he had received this Ammunition, put his Army into a condition to march, and having intelligence that the Queen was at Sea, with intention to land in ſome part of the Eaſtriding of *York-ſhire*, he

directed

directed his March in *February* 1642, into thoſe parts, to be ready to attend Her Majeſties landing, who was then daily expected from *Holland*. Within a ſhort time, after it had pleaſed God to protect Her Majeſty both from the fury of Wind and Waves, there being for ſeveral days ſuch a Tempeſt at Sea, that Her Majeſty, with all her Attendance, was in danger to be caſt away every minute; as alſo from the fury of the Rebels, which had the whole Naval Power of the Kingdom then in their Hands: ſhe arrived ſafely at a ſmall Port in the Eaſtriding of *York-ſhire*, called *Burlington* Key, where Her Majeſty was no ſooner landed, but the Enemy at Sea made continual ſhot againſt her Ships in the Port, which reached not onely Her Majeſties landing, but even the Houſe where ſhe lay (though without the leaſt hurt to any) ſo that ſhe her ſelf, and her Attendants, were forced to leave the ſame, and to ſeek Protection from a Hill near that place, under which they retired; and all that while it was obſerved, that Her Majeſty ſhewed as much Courage as ever any perſon could do; for Her undaunted and Generous ſpirit was like her Royal Birth, deriving it ſelf from that unparrallell'd King, Her Father, whoſe Heroick Actions will be in perpetual Memory, whileſt the World hath a being.

My Lord finding Her Majeſty in this condition, drew his Army near the place where ſhe was, ready to attend and protect Her Majeſties Perſon, who

was

was pleaſed to take a view of the Army as it was drawn up in order; and immediately after, which was in *March* 1643, took Her journey towards *York*, whither the whole Army conducted Her Majeſty, and brought her ſafe into the City. About this time, Her Majeſty having ſome preſent occaſion for Money, My Lord preſented Her with 3000 l. *Sterling*, which ſhe graciouſly accepted of, and having ſpent ſome time there in Conſultation about the preſent affairs, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend ſome Armes and Ammunition to the King, who was then in *Oxford*; to which end, my Lord ordered a Party conſiſting of 1500, well Commanded, to conduct the ſame, with whom the Lord *Percy*, who then had waited upon Her Majeſty from the King, returned to *Oxford*; which Party His Majeſty was pleaſed to keep with him for his own Service.

Not long after, My Lord, who always endeavoured to win any place or perſons by fair means, rather then by uſing of force, reduced to His Majeſties obedience a ſtrong Fort and Caſtle upon the Sea, and a very good Haven, call'd *Scarborough*-Caſtle, perſwading the Governour thereof, who heretofore had oppoſed his Forces at *Yarum*-bridg, with ſuch rational and convincible Arguments, that he willingly rendred himſelf, and all the Gariſon, unto His Majeſties Devotion; By which prudent Action My Lord highly advanced His Majeſties Intereſt; for by that means the Enemy was much annoyed and prejudiced

at

at Sea, and a great part in the Eaſt-riding of *York-ſhire* kept in due obedience.

After this, My Lord having received Intelligence that the Enemies General of the Horſe * had deſigned to march with a Party from *Cawood* Caſtle, whither they were fled from *Tadcaſter*, as before is mentioned, to ſome Gariſons which they had in the Weſt of *York-ſhire*; preſently order'd a party of Horſe, Commanded by the General of the Horſe, the Lord *George Goring*, to attend the Enemy in their March, who overtook them on a Moor, call'd *Seacroft-Moor*, and fell upon their Rear, which cauſed the Enemy to draw up their Forces into a Body; to whom they gave a Total rout (although their number was much greater) and took about 800 Priſoners, and 10 or 12 Colours of Horſe, beſides many that were ſlain in the charge; which Priſoners were brought to *York*, about 10 or 12 miles diſtant from that ſame place.

* Sir *Thomas Fairfax.*

Immediately after, in purſuit of that Victory, My Lord ſent a conſiderable Party into the Weſt of *York-ſhire*, where they met with about 2000 of the Enemies Forces, taken out of their ſeveral Gariſons in thoſe parts, to execute ſome deſign upon a Moor called *Tankerly-Moor*, and there fought them, and routed them; many were ſlain, and ſome taken Priſoners.

Not long after, the Remainder of the Army that were left at *York*, marched to *Leeds*, in the Weſt of *York-ſhire*, and from thence to *Wakefield*, being both

the Enemies Quarters, to reduce and ſettle that part of the Country: My Lord having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town of *Wakefield*, it being large, and of great compaſs, and able to make a ſtrong quarter, order'd it accordingly; and receiving Intelligence that in two Market-Towns Southweſt from *Wakefield*, *viz.* *Rotheram* and *Sheffield*, the Enemy was very buſie to raiſe Forces againſt his Majeſty, and had fortified them both about four miles diſtant from each other, hoping thereby to give protection and encouragement to all thoſe parts of the Country which were populous, rich and rebellious, he thought it neceſſary to uſe his beſt endeavours to blaſt thoſe their wicked deſigns in the bud; and thereupon took a reſolution in *April* 1643, to march with part of his Army from *Wakefield* into the mentioned parts, attended with a convenient Train of Artillery and Ammunition, leaving the greateſt part of it at *Wakefield* with the remainder of his Army, under the Care and Conduct of his General of the Horſe, and Major General of the Army*, which was ſo conſiderable, both in reſpect of their number and proviſion, that they did, as they might well, conceive themſelves Maſter of the Field in thoſe parts, and ſecure in that quarter, although in the end it proved not ſo, as ſhall hereafter be declared, which muſt neceſſarily be imputed to their invigilancy and careleſneſs.

* The **Lord *Goring* and Sir *Francis Mackworth* Knight.**

My

My Lord firſt marched to *Rotheram*, and finding that the Enemy had placed a Gariſon of Soldiers in that Town, and fortified it, he drew up his Army in the morning againſt the Town, and ſummon'd it; but they refuſing to yield, my Lord fell to work with his Cannon and Musket, and within a ſhort time took it by ſtorm, and enter'd the Town that very night; ſome Enemies of note that were found therein, were taken Priſoners; and as for the common Soldiers, which were by the Enemy forced from their Allegiance, he ſhew'd ſuch Clemency to them, that very many willingly took up Arms for His Majeſties Service, and proved very faithful and loyal Subjects, and good Soldiers.

After my Lord had ſtayed two or three dayes there, and order'd thoſe parts, he marched with his Army to *Sheffield*, another Market-Town of large extent, in which there was an ancient Caſtle; which when the Enemies Forces that kept the Town, came to hear of, being terrified with the fame of my Lords hitherto Victorious Army, they fled away from thence into *Derbyſhire*, and left both Town and Caſtle (without any blow) to my Lords Mercy; and though the people in the Town were moſt of them rebelliouſly affected, yet my Lord ſo prudently ordered the buſineſs, that within a ſhort time he reduced moſt of them to their Allegiance by love,

and

and the reſt by fear, and recruited his Army daily; he put a Gariſon of Soldiers into the Caſtle, and fortified it in all reſpects, and conſtituted a Gentleman of Quality * Governour both of the Caſtle, Town and Country; and finding near that place ſome Iron Works, he gave preſent order for the caſting of Iron Cannon for his Gariſons, and for the making of other Inſtruments and Engines of War.

Sir *Will. Savil* Kt. and Bar.

Within a ſhort time after, my Lord receiving Intelligence that the Enemy in the Gariſons near *Wakefield* had united themſelves, and being drawn into a body in the night time, had ſurpriſed and enter'd the Town of *Wakefield*, and taken all or moſt of the Officers and Soldiers, left there, Priſoners, (amongſt whom was alſo the General of the Horſe, the Lord *Goring*, whom my Lord afterwards redeem'd by Exchange) and poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Magazine, which was a very great loſs and hinderance to my Lords deſigns, it being the Moity of his Army, and moſt of his Ammunition, he fell upon new Counſels, and reſolved without any delay to march from thence back towards *York*, which was in *May* 1643, where after he had reſted ſome time, Her Majeſty being reſolved to take Her Journey towards the Southern parts of the Kingdom, where the King was, deſigned firſt to go from *York* to *Pomfret*, whither my Lord ordered the whole Marching Army

to

to be in readineſs to conduct Her Majeſty, which they did, he himſelf attending Her Majeſty in perſon. And after Her Majeſty had reſted there ſome ſmall time, ſhe being deſirous to proceed in Her intended Journey, no leſs then a formed Army was able to ſecure Her Perſon: Wherefore my Lord was reſolved out of his fidelity and duty to ſupply Her with an Army of 7000 Horſe and Foot, beſides a convenient Train of Artillery, for Her ſafer Conduct; chuſing rather to leave himſelf in a weak condition (though he was even then very near the Enemies Gariſons in that part of the Country) then ſuffer Her Majeſties Perſon to be expoſed to danger. Which Army of 7000 men, when Her Majeſty was ſafely arrived to the King, He was pleaſed to keep with him for His own Service..

After Her Majeſties departure out of *York-ſhire*, my Lord was forced to recruit again his Army, and within a ſhort time, *viz.* in *June* 1643, took a reſolution to march into the Enemies Quarters, in the Weſtern parts; in which march he met with a ſtrong ſtone houſe well fortified, call'd *Howley*-Houſe, wherein was a Gariſon of Soldiers, which my Lord ſummon'd; but the Governour diſobeying the ſummons, he batter'd it with his Cannon, and ſo took it by force; the Governour having quarter given him contrary to my Lords Orders, was brought before my Lord by a Perſon of Quality, for which the Offi-

cer that brought him, received a check; and though he reſolved then to kill him, yet my Lord would not ſuffer him to do it, ſaying, It was inhumane to kill any man in cold blood. Hereupon the Governour kiſs'd the Key of the Houſe door, and preſented it to my Lord; to which my Lord return'd this anſwer, *I need it not*, ſaid he, *for I brought a Key along with me, which yet I was unwilling to uſe, until you forced me to it.*

At this Houſe my Lord remained five or ſix days, till he had refreſhed his Soldiers; and then a reſolution was taken to march againſt a Gariſon of the Enemies call'd *Bradford*, a little, but a ſtrong Town; in the way he met with a ſtrong interruption by the Enemy drawing forth a vaſt number of Muſquetiers, which they had very privately gotten out of *Lancaſhire*, the next adjoining County to thoſe parts of *York-ſhire*, which had ſo eaſie an acceſs to them at *Bradford*, by reaſon the whole Country was of their Party, that my Lord could not poſſibly have any conſtant intelligence of their deſigns and motions; for in their Army there were near 5000 Muſquetiers, and 18 Troops of Horſe, drawn up in a place full of hedges, called *Atherton-moor*, near to their Gariſon at *Bradford*, ready to encounter my Lords Forces, which then contained not above half ſo many Muſquetiers as the Enemy had; their chiefeſt ſtrength conſiſting in Horſe, and theſe made uſeleſs for a long time together

gether, by the Enemies Horſe poſſeſſing all the plain ground upon that Field; ſo that no place was left to draw up my Lords Horſe, but amongſt old Coal-pits: Neither could they charge the Enemy, by reaſon of a great ditch and high bank betwixt my Lord's and the Enemies Troops, but by two on a breaſt, and that within Muſquet ſhot; the Enemy being drawn up in hedges, and continually playing upon them, which rendred the ſervice exceeding difficult and hazardous.

In the mean while the Foot of both ſides on the right and left Wings, encounter'd each other, who fought from Hedg to Hedg, and for a long time together overpower'd and got ground of my Lords Foot, almoſt to the invironing of his Cannon; my Lords Horſe (wherein conſiſted his greateſt ſtrength) all this while being made, by reaſon of the ground, incapable of charging; at laſt the Pikes of my Lords Army having had no employment all the day, were drawn againſt the Enemies left wing, and particularly thoſe of my Lords own Regiment, which were all ſtout and valiant men, who fell ſo furiouſly upon the Enemy, that they forſook their hedges, and fell to their heels: At which very inſtant, my Lord cauſed a ſhot or two to be made by his Cannon againſt the Body of the Enemies Horſe, drawn up within Cannon ſhot, which took ſo good effect, that it diſordered the Enemies Troops; Hereupon my Lord's Horſe got

over

over the Hedg, not in a body (for that they could not) but diſperſedly two on a breaſt; and as ſoon as ſome conſiderable number was gotten over, and drawn up, they charged the Enemy, and routed them; ſo that in an inſtant there was a ſtrange change of Fortune, and the Field totally won by my Lord, notwithſtanding he had quitted 7000 Men, to conduct Her Majeſty, beſides a good Train of Artillery, which in ſuch a Conjuncture would have weakned *Cæſars* Army. In this Victory the Enemy loſt moſt of their Foot, about 3000 were taken Priſoners, and 700 Horſe and Foot ſlain, and thoſe that eſcaped, fled into their Gariſon at *Bradford*, amongſt whom was alſo their General of the Horſe.

After this, My Lord cauſed his Army to be rallied, and marched in order that night before *Bradford*, with an intention to ſtorm it the next morning; but the Enemy that were in the Town, it ſeems, were ſo diſcomfited, that the ſame night they eſcaped all various ways, and amongſt them the ſaid General of the Horſe, whoſe Lady being behind a Servant on Horſe-back, was taken by ſome of My Lord's Soldiers and brought to his Quarters, where ſhe was treated and attended with all civility and reſpect, and within few days ſent to *York* in my Lords own Coach, and from thence very ſhortly after to *Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, where ſhe deſired to be, attended by my Lords Coach and Servants.

Thus

Thus my Lord, after the Enemy was gone, entred the Town and Gariſon of *Bradford*, by which Victory the Enemy was ſo daunted, that they forſook the reſt of their Gariſons, that is to ſay, *Halifax*, *Leeds* and *Wakefield*, and diſperſed themſelves ſeverally, the chief Officers retiring to *Hull*, a ſtrong Gariſon of the Enemy; and though my Lord, knowing they would make their eſcape thither, as having no other place of refuge to reſort to, ſent a Letter to *York* to the Governour of that City, to ſtop them in their paſſage; yet by neglect of the Poſt, it coming not timely enough to his hands, his Deſign was fruſtrated.

The whole County of *York*, ſave onely *Hull*, being now cleared and ſetled by my Lords Care and Conduct, he marched to the City of *York*, and having a competent number of Horſe well armed and commanded, he quarter'd them in the Eaſt-riding, near *Hull*, there being no viſible Enemy then to oppoſe them: In the mean while my Lord receiving News that the Enemy had made an Invaſion into the next adjoining County of *Lincoln*, where he had ſome Forces, he preſently diſpatched * his Lieute- The Lord *Ethyn.*
nant General of the Army away with ſome Horſe and Dragoons, and ſoon after marched thither himſelf with the body of the Army, being earneſtly deſired by his Majeſties Party there. The Forces which my Lord had in the ſame County, command-

ed by the then Lieutenant General of the Horſe, Mr. *Charles Cavendiſh*, ſecond Brother to the now Earl of *Devonſhire*, though they had timely notice, and Orders from my Lord to make their retreat to the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and not to fight the Enemy; yet the ſaid Lieutenant-General of the Horſe being tranſported by his Courage, (he being a Perſon of great Valour and Conduct) and having charged the Enemy, unfortunately loſt the field, and himſelf was ſlain in the Charge, his Horſe lighting in a bogg: Which news being brought to my Lord when he was on his March, he made all the haſt he could, and was no ſooner joined with his Lieutenant General, but fell upon the Enemy, and put them to flight.

The firſt Gariſon my Lord took in *Lincolnſhire*, was *Gainsborrough*, a Town ſtanding upon the River *Trent*, wherein (not long before) had been a Gariſon of Soldiers for His Majeſty, under the Command of the then Earl of *Kingſtone*, but ſurpriſed, and the Town Taken by the Enemies Forces, who having an intention to conveigh the ſaid Earl of *Kingſtone* from thence to *Hull* in a little Pinnace, met with ſome of my Lords Forces by the way, commanded by the Lieutenant of the Army, who being deſirous to reſcue the Earl of *Kingſtone*, and making ſome ſhots with their Regiment Pieces, to ſtop the Pinnace, unfortunately ſlew him, and one of his Servants.

My

My Lord drawing near the mentioned Town of *Gainsborrough*, there appear'd on the top of a Hill above the Town, ſome of the Enemies Horſe drawn up in a body; whereupon he immediately ſent a party of his Horſe to view them; who no ſooner came within their ſight, but they retreated fairly ſo long as they could well endure; but the purſuit of my Lords Horſe cauſed them preſently to break their ranks, and fall to their heels; where moſt of them eſcaped, and fled to *Lincoln*, another of their Garriſons. Hereupon my Lord ſummon'd the Town of *Gainsborrough*; but the Governour thereof refuſing to yield, cauſed my Lord to plant his Cannon, and draw up his Army on the mention'd Hill; and having play'd ſome little while upon the Town, put the Enemy into ſuch a terror, that the Governour ſent out, and offer'd the ſurrender of the Town upon fair terms, which my Lord thought fit rather to embrace, then take it by force; and though according to the Articles of Agreement made between them, both the Enemies Arms and the Keys of the Town ſhould have been fairly delivered to my Lord; yet it being not performed as it was expected, the Arms being in a confuſed manner thrown down, and the Gates ſet wide open, the Priſoners that had been kept in the Town, began firſt to plunder; which my Lords Forces ſeeing, did the ſame, although it was againſt my Lords will and orders.

After

After my Lord had thus reduced the Town, and put a good Gariſon of Soldiers into it, and better fortified it, he marched before *Lincoln*, and there he entred with his Army without great difficulty, and plac'd alſo a Gariſon in it, and raiſed a conſiderable Army, both Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, for the preſervation of that County, and put them under Commanders, and conſtituted a Perſon of Ho-

The Lord *Widdrington.*

nour * Commander in Chief, with intention to march towards the South, which if it had taken effect, would doubtleſs have made an end of that War; but he being daily importuned by the Nobility and Gentry of *York-ſhire*, to return into that County, eſpecially upon the perſwaſions of the Commander in Chief of the Forces left there, who acquainted my Lord that the Enemy grew ſo ſtrong every day, being got together in *Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, and annoying that Country, that his Forces were not able to bear up againſt them; alledging withall, that my Lord would be ſuſpected to betray the Truſt repoſed in him, if he came not to ſuccour and aſſiſt them; he went back with his Army for the protection of that ſame Country; and when he arrived there, which was in *Auguſt* 1643, he found the Enemy of ſo ſmall conſequence, that they did all flie before him. About this time His Majeſty was pleaſed to honour my Lord for His true and faithful Service, with the Title of *Marqueſs of Newcaſtle.*

My

My Lord being returned into *York-ſhire*, forced the Enemy firſt from a Town called *Beverly*, wherein they had a Gariſon of Soldiers; and from thence, upon the entreaty of the Nobility and Gentry of *York-ſhire*, (as before is mentioned) who promiſed him Ten thouſand men for that purpoſe, though they came ſhort of their performance, marched near the Town of *Kingſtone* upon *Hull*, and beſieged that part of the Gariſon that bordered on *York-ſhire*, for a certain time; in which time the Enemy took the courage to ſally out of the Town with a ſtrong party of Horſe and Foot very early in the morning, with purpoſe to have forced the Quarters of a Regiment of my Lords Horſe, that were quarter'd next the Town; but by the vigilancy of their Commander Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, afterwards Lord *Langdale*, his Forces being prepared for their reception, they received ſuch a Welcome as coſt many of them their Lives, moſt of their Foot (but ſuch as were ſlain) being taken Priſoners; and thoſe of their Horſe that eſcaped, got into their Hold at *Hull*.

The Enemy thus ſeeing that they could do my Lords Army no further damage on that ſide of the River in *York-ſhire*, endeavoured by all means (from *Hull*, and other confederate places in the Eaſtern parts of the Kingdom) to form a conſiderable party to annoy and diſturb the Forces raiſed by my Lord in *Lincolnſhire*, and left there for the protecti-

on of that County; where the Enemy being drawn together in a body, fought my Lords Forces in his abſence, and got the honour of the day near *Hornby* Caſtle in that County; which loſs, cauſed partly by their own raſhneſs, forced my Lord to leave his deſign upon *Hull*, and to march back with his Army to *York*, which was in *October* 1643, where he remained but a few dayes to refreſh his Army, and receiving intelligence that the Enemy was got into *Derbyſhire*, and did grow numerous there, and buſie in ſeducing the people, that Country being under my Lords Command, he reſolved to direct his March thither in the beginning of *November* 1643, to ſuppreſs their further growth; and to that end quarter'd his Army at *Cheſterfield*, and in all the parts thereabout, for a certain time.

Immediately after his departure from *York* to *Pomfret*, in his ſaid March into *Derbyſhire*, the City of *York* ſent to my Lord to inform him of their intention to chuſe another Mayor for the year following, deſiring his pleaſure about it: My Lord, who knew that the Mayor for the year before, was a perſon of much Loyalty and Diſcretion, declared his mind to them, That he thought it fit to continue him Mayor alſo for the year following; which it ſeems they did not like, but reſolved to chuſe one which they pleaſed, contrary to my Lords deſire. My Lord perceiving their intentions, about the time of the E-

lection,

lection ſent orders to the Governour of the City of *York*, to permit ſuch Forces to enter into the City as he ſhould ſend; which being done accordingly, they upon the Day of the Election repaired to the Town-Hall, and with their Arms ſtaid there until they had continued the ſaid Mayor according to my Lords deſire.

During the time of my Lords ſtay at *Cheſterfield* in *Derbyſhire*, he ordered ſome part of his Army to march before a ſtrong Houſe and Gariſon of the Enemies, call'd *Wingfield Mannor*, which in a ſhort time they took by ſtorm. And when my Lotd had raiſed in that County as many Forces, Horſe and Foot, as were ſuppoſed to be ſufficient to preſerve it from the fury of the Enemy, he armed them, and conſtituted an Honourable Perſon * Commander in Chief of all the Forces of that County, and of *Leiceſterſhire*; and ſo leaving it in that condition, marched in *December* 1643, from *Cheſterfield* to *Bolſover* in the ſame County, and from thence to *Welbeck* in *Nottinghamſhire*, to his own Houſe and Gariſon, in which parts he ſtaid ſome time, both to refreſh his Army, and to ſettle and reform ſome diſorders he found there, leaving no viſible Enemy behind him in *Derbyſhire*, ſave onely an inconſiderable party in the Town of *Derby*, which they had fortified, not worth the labour to reduce it.

* The Lord of *Loughborough.*

About

About this time the report came, that a great Army out of *Scotland*, was upon their march towards the Northern parts of *England*, to aſſiſt the Enemy againſt His Majeſty, which forced the Nobility and Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to invite my Lord back again into thoſe parts, with promiſe to raiſe for his ſervice, an Army of 10000 men; My Lord (not upon this proffer, which had already heretofore deceived him, but out of his Loyalty and duty to preſerve thoſe parts which were committed to his care and protection) returned in the middle of *January* 1643. And when he came there, he found not one man raiſed to aſſiſt him againſt ſo powerful an Army, nor an intention of raiſing any; Wherefore he was neceſſitated to raiſe himſelf, out of the Countrey, what forces he could get, and when he had ſettled the affairs in *York-ſhire* as well as time and his preſent condition would permit, and conſtituted an honourable Perſon * Governor of *York* and Commander in chief of a very conſiderable party of horſe and foot for the defence of the County (for Sr. *Thomas Glemham* was then made Colonel General, and marched into the Field with the Army) he took his march to *Newcaſtle* in the beginning of *February* 1643, to give a ſtop to the *Scots* army.

The Lord *Bellaſis.*

Preſently after his coming thither with ſome of his Troups, before his whole army was come up, he received intelligence of the *Scots* Armie's near approach, whereupon he ſent forth a party of horſe to view them, who

who found them very ſtrong, to the number of 22000 Horſe and Foot well armed and commanded: They marched up towards the Town with ſuch confidence, as if the Gates had been open'd for their reception; and the General of their Army ſeem'd to take no notice of my Lords being in it, for which afterwards he excuſed himſelf; but as they drew near, they found not ſuch entertainment as they expected; for though they aſſaulted a Work that was not finiſhed, yet they were beaten off with much loſs.

The Enemy being thus ſtopt before the Town, thought fit to quarter near it, in that part of the Country; and ſo ſoon as my Lords Army was come up, he deſigned one night to have fallen into their Quarter; but by reaſon of ſome neglect of his Orders in not giving timely notice to the party deſigned for it, it took not an effect anſwerable to his expectation. In a word, there were three Deſigns taken againſt the Enemy, whereof if one had but hit, they would doubtleſs have been loſt; but there was ſo much Treachery, Jugling and Falſhood in my Lord's own Army, that it was impoſſible for him to be ſucceſsful in his Deſigns and Undertakings. However, though it failed in the Enemies Foot-Quarters, which lay neareſt the Town; yet it took good effect in their Horſe-Quarters, which were more remote; for my Lord's Horſe, Commanded by a very gallant and worthy Gentleman * falling upon them,

* The Lord *Langdale.*

them, gave them ſuch an Alarm, that all they could do, was to draw into the Field, where my Lord's Forces charged them, and in a little time routed them totally, and kill'd and took many Priſoners, to the number of 1500.

Upon this the Enemy was forced to draw their whole Army together, and to quarter them a little more remote from the Town, and to ſeek out inacceſſible places for their ſecurity, as afterwards appear'd more plainly; for ſo ſoon as my Lord had prepared his Army for a March, he drew them forth againſt the *Scots*, which he found quarter'd upon high Hills cloſe by the River *Tyne*, where they could not be encounter'd but upon very diſadvantagious terms; beſides, that day proved very ſtormy and tempeſtuous, ſo that my Lord was neceſſitated to withdraw his Forces, and retire into his own Quarters.

The next day after, the *Scots* Army finding ill harbour in thoſe quarters, marched from hill to hill into another part of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, near the Sea coaſt, to a Town called *Sunderland*; and thereupon my Lord thought fit to march to *Durham*, to ſtop their further progreſs, where he had contrived the buſineſs ſo, that they were either forced to fight or ſtarve within a little time. The firſt was offered to them twice, that is to ſay, at *Penſher-hills* one day, and at *Bowden-hills* another day in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*:

But

But my Lord found them at both times drawn up in ſuch places, as he could not poſſibly charge them; wherefore he retired again to *Durham*, with an intention to ſtrengthen their Quarters, and to wait upon them, if ever they left their Holds and inacceſſible places. In the mean time it hapned that the Earl of *Montroſs* came to the ſame place, and having ſome deſign for his Majeſties ſervice in *Scotland*, deſired My Lord to give him the aſſiſtance of ſome of his Forces; and although My Lord ſtood then in preſent need of them, and could not coveniently ſpare any, having ſo great an Army to oppoſe; yet out of a deſire to advance His Majeſties ſervice as much as lay in his power, he was willing to part to the ſaid Earl, with 200 Horſe and Dragoons.

The *Scots* perceiving My Lords vigilancy and care, contented themſelves with their own quarters, which could not have ſerv'd them long, but that a great misfortune befel My Lords Forces in *York-ſhire*; for the Governour whom he had left behind with ſufficient Forces for the defence of that Country, although he had orders not to encounter the Enemy, but to keep himſelf in a defenſive poſture; yet he being a man of great valour and courage, it tranſported him ſo much that he reſolved to face the Enemy, and offering to keep a Town that was not tenable*, was utterly routed, and himſelf taken Priſoner, although he fought moſt gallantly.

* *Selby* in *Yorkſhire.*

So

So ſoon as my Lord received this ſad Intelligence, he upon Conſultation, and upon very good Grounds of Reaſon, took a reſolution not to ſtay between the two Armies of the Enemies, *viz.* the *Scots* and the *Engliſh*, that had prevailed in *York-ſhire*; but immediately to march into *York-ſhire* with his Army, to preſerve (if poſſible) the City of *York* out of the Enemies hands: which retreat was ordered ſo well, and with ſuch excellent Conduct, that though the Army of the *Scots* marched cloſe upon their Rear, and fought them every day of their retreat, yet they gained ſeveral Paſſes for their ſecurity, and entred ſafe and well into the City of *York*, in *April* 1643.

My Lord being now at *York*, and finding three Armies againſt him, *viz.* the Army of the *Scots*, the Army of the *Engliſh* that gave the defeat to the Governour of *York*, and an Army that was raiſed out of aſſociate Counties, and but little Ammunition and Proviſion in the Town; was forced to ſend his Horſe away to quarter in ſeveral Counties, *viz.* *Derbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, for their ſubſiſtance, under the Conduct of his Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, My dear Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*, himſelf remaining at *York*, with his Foot and Train for the defence of that City.

In the mean time, the Enemy having cloſely beſiedged the City on all ſides, came to the very Gates thereof, and pull'd out the Earth at one end, as thoſe

in

in the City put it in at the other end; they planted their great Cannons againſt it, and threw in Granadoes at pleaſure: But thoſe in the City made ſeveral ſallies upon them with good ſucceſs. At laſt, the General of the aſſociate Army of the Enemy, having cloſely beleaguer'd the North ſide of the Town, ſprung a Mine under the wall of the Mannor-yard, and blew part of it up; and having beaten back the Town-Forces (although they behaved themſelves very gallantly) enter'd the Mannor-houſe with a great number of their men, which as ſoon as my Lord perceived, he went away in all haſte, even to the amazement of all that were by, not knowing what he intended to do; and drew 80 of his own Regiment of Foot, called the White-Coats, all ſtout and valiant Men, to that Poſt, who fought the Enemy with that courage, that within a little time they killed and took 1500 of them; and My Lord gave preſent order to make up the breach which they had made in the wall; Whereupon the Enemy remain'd without any other attempt in that kind, ſo long, till almoſt all proviſion for the ſupport of the ſoldiery in the City was ſpent, which nevertheleſs was ſo well ordered by my Lords Prudence, that no Famine or great extremity of want enſued.

My Lord having held out in that manner above two Months, and withſtood the ſtrength of three Armies; and ſeeing that his Lieutenant-General of

the Horſe whom he had ſent for relief to His Majeſty, could not ſo ſoon obtain it (although he uſed his beſt endeavour) for to gain yet ſome little time, began to treat with the Enemy; ordering in the mean while, and upon the Treaty, to double and treble his Guards. At laſt after three Months time from the beginning of the Siege, His Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend an Army, which joining with my Lords Horſe that were ſent to quarter in the aforeſaid Countreys, came to relieve the City, under the Conduct of the moſt Gallant and Heroick Prince *Rupert*, his Nephew; upon whoſe approach near *York*, the Enemy drew from before the City, into an entire Body, and marched away on the Weſt-ſide of the River *Ouſe*, that runs through the City, His Majeſties Forces being then of the Eaſt-ſide of that River.

My Lord immediately ſent ſome perſons of Quality to attend His Highneſs, and to invite him into the City to conſult with him about that important Affair, and to gain ſo much time as to open a Port to march forth with his Cannon and Foot which were in the Town, to join with His Highneſs's Forces; and went himſelf the next day in perſon to wait on His Highneſs; where after ſome Conferences, he declared his Mind to the Prince, deſiring His Highneſs not to attempt any thing as yet upon the Enemy; for he had intelligence that there was ſome diſcontent between them, and that they were reſolved to

divide

divide themſelves, and ſo to raiſe the Siege without fighting: Beſides, my Lord expected within two dayes, Collonel *Cleavering*, with above three thouſand men out of the North, and two thouſand drawn out of ſeveral Gariſons, (who alſo came at the ſame time; though it was then too late) But His Highneſs anſwered my Lord, That he had a Letter from His Majeſty (then at *Oxford*) with a poſitive and abſolute Command to fight the Enemy; which in Obedience, and according to his Duty he was bound to perform. Whereupon my Lord replied, That he was ready and willing for his part, to obey his Highneſs in all things, no otherwiſe then if His Majeſty was there in Perſon Himſelf; and though ſeveral of my Lords Friends adviſed him not to engage in Battel, becauſe the Command (as they ſaid) was taken from Him: Yet my Lord anſwer'd them, That happen what would, he would not ſhun to fight, for he had no other ambition but to live and dye a Loyal Subject to His Majeſty.

Then the Prince and my Lord conferr'd with ſeveral of their Officers, amongſt whom there were ſeveral Diſputes concerning the advantages which the Enemy had of Sun, Wind and Ground. The Horſe of His Majeſties Forces, was drawn up in both Wings upon that fatal Moor call'd *Heſſom-Moor*; and my Lord ask'd His Highneſs what Service he would be pleas'd to command him; who return'd this Anſwer,

ſwer, That he would begin no action upon the Enemy, till early in the morning; deſiring my Lord to repoſe himſelf till then: Which my Lord did, and went to reſt in his own Coach that was cloſe by in the Field, until the time appointed.

Not long had My Lord been there, but he heard a great noiſe and thunder of ſhooting, which gave him notice of the Armies being engaged: Whereupon he immediately put on his Arms, and was no ſooner got on Horſe-back, but he beheld a diſmal ſight of the Horſe of His Majeſties right Wing, which out of a panick fear had left the Field, and run away with all the ſpeed they could; and though my Lord made them ſtand once, yet they immediately betook themſelves to their heels again, and killed even thoſe of their own party that endeavoured to ſtop them; the Left Wing in the mean time, Commanded by thoſe two Valiant Perſons, the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, having the better of the Enemies Right Wing, which they beat back moſt valiantly three times, and made their General retreat, in ſo much, that they ſounded Victory.

In this Confuſion my Lord (accompanied onely with his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, Major *Scot*, Capt. *Mazine*, and his Page) haſtning to ſee in what poſture his own Regiment was, met with a Troop of Gentlemen-Voluntiers, who formerly had cho-

ſen

ſen him their Captain, notwithſtanding he was General of an Army; to whom my Lord ſpake after this manner:. *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *You have done me the Honour to chuſe me your Captain, and now is the fitteſt time that I may do you ſervice; wherefore if you'l follow me, I ſhall lead you on the beſt I can, and ſhew you the way to your own Honour.* They being as glad of my Lords Profer, as my Lord was of their Readineſs, went on with the greateſt Courage; and paſſing through Two Bodies of Foot, engaged with each other not at forty yards diſtance, received not the leaſt hurt, although they fired quick upon each other; but marched towards a *Scots* Regiment of Foot, which they charged and routed; in which Encounter my Lord himſelf kill'd Three with his Pages half-leaden Sword, for he had no other left him; and though all the Gentlemen in particular, offer'd him their Swords, yet my Lord refuſed to take a Sword of any of them. At laſt, after they had paſs'd through this Regiment of Foot, a Pike-man made a ſtand to the whole Troop; and though my Lord charg'd him twice or thrice, yet he could not enter him; but the Troop diſpatched him ſoon.

In all theſe Encounters my Lord got not the leaſt hurt, though ſeveral were ſlain about him; and his White-Coats ſhew'd ſuch an extraordinary Valour and Courage in that Action, that they were kill'd in Rank and File: And here I cannot but mention by

the way, That it is remarkable, that in all actions and undertakings where My Lord was in Perſon himſelf, he was always Victorious, and proſpered in the execution of his deſigns; but whatſoever was loſt or ſucceeded ill, happen'd in his abſence, and was cauſed either by the Treachery, or Negligence and Careleſneſs of his Officers.

My Lord being the laſt in the Field, and ſeeing that all was loſt, and that every one of His Majeſties Party made their eſcapes in the beſt manner they could; he being moreover inquired after by ſeveral of his Friends, who had all a great love and reſpect for my Lord, eſpecially by the then Earl of *Craford* (who lov'd my Lord ſo well that he gave 20 s. to one that aſſured him of his being alive and ſafe, telling him, that that was all he had) went towards *York* late at night, accompanied onely with his Brother, and one or two of his ſervants; and coming near the Town, met His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, with the Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Ethyn*; His Highneſs asked My Lord how the buſineſs went? To whom he anſwered, That all was loſt and gone on their ſide.

That night my Lord remained in *York*; and having nothing left in his power to do his Majeſty any further ſervice in that kind; for he had neither Ammunition, nor Money to raiſe more Forces, to keep either *York*, or any other Towns that were yet in His Majeſties Devotion, well knowing that thoſe which

which were left could not hold out long, and being alſo loath to have aſperſions caſt upon him, that he did ſell them to the Enemy, in caſe he could not keep them; he took a Reſolution, and that juſtly and honourably, to forſake the Kingdom; and to that end, went the next morning to the Prince, and acquainted him with his Deſign, deſiring His Highneſs would be pleaſed to give this true and juſt report of him to his Majeſty, that he had behaved himſelf like an honeſt man, a Gentleman, and a Loyal ſubject: Which requeſt the Prince having granted, my Lord took his leave; and being conducted by a Troop of Horſe, and a Troop of Dragoons to *Scarborough*, went to Sea, and took ſhipping for *Hamborough*; the Gentry of the Country, who alſo came to take their leaves of My Lord, being much troubled at his departure, and ſpeaking very honourably of him, as ſurely they had no reaſon to the contrary.

THE

The Second Book.

HAving hitherto faithfully related the life of My Noble Lord and Husband, and the chief Actions which He performed during the time of his being employed in His Majeſties Service for the Good and Intereſt of his King and Country, until the time of his going out of *England*, I ſhall now give you a juſt account of all that paſſed during the time of his baniſhment, till the return into his native Country.

My Lord being a Wiſe Man, and foreſeeing well what the loſs of that fatal Battle upon *Heſſom-moor*, near *York*, would produce, by which not onely thoſe of His Majeſties Party in the Northern parts of the Kingdom, but in all other parts of His Majeſties Dominions both in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were loſt and undone, and that there was no other way, but either to quit the Kingdom, or ſubmit to the Enemy, or die; he reſolved upon the former, and preparing for his journey, asked his Steward, How Much Money he had left? Who anſwer'd, That he had but 90 l. My Lord not being at all ſtartled at ſo ſmall a Summ, although his preſent deſign required much more, was reſolved too ſeek his Fortune, even with that litle; and thereupon having taken leave of His Highneſs Prince *Rupert*, and the reſt that were preſent,

ſent, went to *Scarborough* (as before is mentioned) where two Ships were prepared for *Hamborough* to ſet ſail within 24 hours, in which he embarqued with his Company, and arrived in four days time to the ſaid City, which was on the 8*th* of *July*, 1644.

In one of theſe Ships was my Lord, with his two Sons, *Charles* Viſcount *Mansfield*, and Lord *Henry Cavendiſh*, now Earl of *Ogle*; as alſo Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, My Lord's Brother; the then Lord Biſhop of *London-derry* Dr. *Bramhall*; the Lord *Falconbridg*, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *William Carnaby*, who after died at *Paris*, and his Brother Mr. *Francis Carnaby*, who went preſently in the ſame Ship back again for *England*, and ſoon after was ſlain by the Enemy, near *Sherborne* in *York-ſhire*, beſides many of my Lord's and their ſervants: In the other Ship was the Earl of *Ethyne*, Lieutenant General of My Lord's Army, and the Lord *Cornworth*. But before My Lord landed at *Hamborough*, his eldeſt Son *Charles*, Lord *Mansfield*, fell ſick of the Small-Pox, and not long after his younger Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, fell likewiſe dangerouſly ill of the Meaſels; but it pleaſed God that they both happily recovered.

My Lord finding his Company and Charge very great, although he ſent ſeveral of his Servants back again into *England*; and having no means left to maintain him, was forced to ſeek for Credit; where at laſt he got ſo much as would in part relieve his neceſ-

ſities; and whereas heretofore he had been contented, for want of a Coach, to make uſe of a Waggon, when his occaſions drew him abroad; he was now able (with the credit he had got) to buy a Coach and nine Horſes of an *Holſatian* breed; for which Horſes he paid 160 l. and was afterwards offer'd for one of them an hundred Piſtols at *Paris*; but he refuſed the money, and preſented ſeven of them to Her Majeſty the Queen-Mother of *England*, and kept two for his own uſe.

After my Lord had ſtay'd in *Hamborough* from *July* 1644, till *February* $164\frac{5}{4}$, he being reſolved to go into *France*, went by Sea from *Hamborough* to *Amſterdam*, and from thence to *Rotterdam*, where he ſent one of his Servants with a Complement and tender of his humble Service to Her Highneſs the then Princeſs Royal, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, and the Prince of *Orange*, which was received with much kindneſs and civility.

From *Rotterdam* he directed his Journey to *Antwerp*, and from thence with one Coach, one Chariot, and two Waggons, he went to *Mechlin* and *Bruſſels*, where he received a Viſit from the Governour, the Marqueſs of *Caſtel Rodrigo*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Count *Piccolomini*.

From thence he ſet forth for *Valenchin* and *Cambray*, where the Governour of the Town, uſed my Lord with great reſpect and civility, and deſired him

to

to give the word that night. Thence he went to *Peroon*, a Frontier Town in *France*, (where the Vice-Governour in abſence of the Governour of that place, did likewiſe entertain my Lord with all reſpect, and deſired him to give the Word that night) and ſo to *Paris* without any further ſtay.

My Lord being arrived at *Paris*, which was in *April* 1645, immediately went to tender his humble duty to Her Majeſty the Queen-Mother of *England*, where it was my Fortune to ſee him the firſt time, I being then one of the Maids of Honour to Her Majeſty; and after he had ſtay'd there ſome time, he was pleaſed to take ſome particular notice of me, and expreſs more then an ordinary affection for me; inſomuch that he reſolved to chuſe me for his Second Wife; for he having but two *Sons*, purpoſed to marry me, a young Woman, that might prove fruitful to him, and encreaſe his Poſterity by a Maſculine Off-ſpring: Nay, He was ſo deſirous of Male-Iſſue, that I have heard him ſay, He cared not, (ſo God would be pleaſed to give him many *Sons*) although they came to be Perſons of the meaneſt Fortunes; but God (it ſeems) had ordered it otherwiſe, and fruſtrated his Deſigns, by making me barren, which yet did never leſſen his Love and Affection for me.

After My Lord was married, having no Eſtate or Means left him to maintain himſelf and his Family, he

he was neceſſitated to ſeek for Credit, and live upon the Courteſie of thoſe that were pleaſed to Truſt him; which although they did for ſome while, and ſhew'd themſelves very civil to My Lord, yet they grew weary at length, inſomuch that his Steward was forced one time to tell him, That he was not able to provide a Dinner for him, for his Creditors were reſolved to truſt him no longer. My Lord being always a great maſter of his Paſſions, was, at leaſt ſhew'd himſelf not in any manner troubled at it, but in a pleaſant humour told me, that I muſt of neceſſity pawn my Cloaths, to make ſo much Money as would procure a Dinner. I anſwer'd, That my Cloaths would be but of ſmall value, and therefore deſired my Waiting-Maid* to pawn ſome ſmall toys, which I had formerly given her, which ſhe willingly did. The ſame day in the afternoon, My Lord ſpake himſelf to his Creditors, and both by his civil Deportment, and perſwaſive Arguments, obtained ſo much, that they did not onely truſt him for more neceſſaries, but lent him Mony beſides, to redeem thoſe Toys that were pawned. Hereupon I ſent my Waiting-Maid into *England*, to my Brother the Lord *Lucas*, for that ſmall Portion which was left me, and my Lord alſo immediately after diſpatched one of his Servants*, who was then Governour to his Sons, to ſome of his Friends, to try what means he could procure for his ſubſiſtance; but though he uſed all the induſtry and endeavour he could,

Mrs. *Chaplain*, now Mrs. *Top.*

Mr. *Benoiſt.*

could, yet he effected but little, by reaſon every body was ſo affraid of the Parliament, that they durſt not relieve Him, who was counted a Traitor for his Honeſt and Loyal ſervice to his King and Country.

Not long after, My Lord had profers made him of ſome Rich Matches in *England* for his two Sons, whom therefore he ſent thither with one Mr. *Loving*, hoping by that means to provide both for them and himſelf; but they being arrived there, out of ſome reaſons beſt known to them, declared their unwillingneſs to Marry as yet, continuing nevertheleſs in *England*, and living as well as they could.

Some two years after my Lord's Marriage, when he had prevailed ſo far with his Creditors, that they began to truſt him anew; the firſt thing he did was, that he removed out of thoſe Lodgings in *Paris*, where he had been neceſſitated to live hitherto, to a Houſe which he hired for himſelf and his Family, and furniſhed it as well as his new gotten Credit would permit; and withal, reſolving for his own recreation and divertiſement in his baniſhed condition, to exerciſe the Art of Manñage, which he is a great lover and Maſter of, bought a Barbary-horſe for that purpoſe, which coſt him 200 Piſtols, and ſoon after, another Barbary-horſe from the Lord *Crofts*, for which he was to pay him 100 l. when he returned into *England*.

About this time, there was a Council call'd at St. *Germain*, in which were preſent, beſides My Lord,

Her Majeſty the now Queen Mother of *England*; His Highneſs the Prince, our now gracious King; His Couſin Prince *Rupert*; the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, the then Marqueſs, now Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn* now Earl of St. *Albans*, and ſeveral others; where after ſeveral debates concerning the then preſent condition of His Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, my Lord delivered his ſentiment, that he could perceive no other probability of procuring Forces for His Majeſty, but an aſſiſtance of the *Scots*; But Her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer my Lord, That he was too quick.

Not long after, When my Lord had begun to ſettle himſef in his mentioned new houſe, His gracious Maſter the Prince, having taken a reſolution to go into *Holland* upon ſome deſigns; Her *Majeſty* the Queen *Mother* deſired my Lord to follow him, promiſing to engage for his debts which hitherto he had contracted at *Paris*, and commanding Her Controller * and Treaſurer * to be bound for them in Her behalf; which they did, although the Creditors would not content themſelves, until my Lord had joined his word to theirs; So great and generous was the bounty and favour of Her *Majeſty* to my Lord! conſidering ſhe had already given him heretofore near upon 2000 l. *Sterling*, even at that time when Her *Majeſty* ſtood moſt in need of it.

Sir *Henry Wood.*
Sir —— *Foſter.*

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My Lord, after his Highneſs the Prince was gone, being ready to execute Her Majeſties Commands in following Him, and preparing for his Journey, wanted the chief thing, which was Money; and having much endeavoured for it, at laſt had the good Fortune to obtain upon Credit three or four hundred pounds *ſterl.* With which Sum he ſet out of *Paris* in the ſame Equipage he entred, *viz.* One Coach, which he had newly cauſed to be made, (wherein were the Lord *Widdrington*, my Lord's Brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, Mr. *Loving*, my Waiting-Maid, and ſome others, whereof the two later were then returned out of *England*) one little Chariot, that would onely hold my Lord and my ſelf; and three Waggons, beſides an indifferent number of Servants on Horſe-back.

That day when we left *Paris*, the Creditors coming to take their Farwell of my Lord, expreſſed ſo great a love and kindneſs for him, accompanied vvith ſo many hearty Prayers and Wiſhes, that he could not but proſper on his Journey.

Being come into the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, my Lord found a very Noble Reception. At *Cambray* the Governour vvas ſo civil, that my Lord coming to that place ſomevvhat late; and vvhen it vvas dark, he commanded ſome Lights and Torches to meet my Lord, and conduct him to his Lodgings: He offer'd my Lord the Keys of the City, and de-

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ſir'd him to give the Word that night, and moreover invited him to an Entertainment, which he had made for him of purpoſe; but it being late, my Lord (tyred with his Journey) excuſed himſelf as civilly as he could; the Governour notwithſtanding being pleaſed to ſend all manner of Proviſions to my Lords Lodgings, and charging our Landlord to take no pay for any thing we had: Which extraordinary Civilities ſhewed that he was a Right Noble *Spaniard.*

The next morning early, my Lord went on his Journey, and was very civilly uſed in every place of His Majeſty of *Spain's* Dominions, where he arrived: At laſt coming to *Antwerp*, He took water to *Rotterdam* (which Town he choſe for his reſiding place, during the time of his ſtay in *Holland*) and ſent thither to a Friend of his *, a Gentleman of Quality, to provide him ſome Lodgings; which he did, and procured them at the houſe of one Mrs. *Beaum*, Widow to an Engliſh Merchant, who had always been very Loyal to His Majeſty the King of *England*, and ſerviceable to His Majeſties faithful Subjects in whatſoever lay in his Power.

Sir *William Throckmorton*, Knight.

My Lord being come to *Rotterdam*, was informed that His Highneſs the Prince (now our Gracious King) was gone to Sea: Wherefore he reſolved to follow him, and for that purpoſe hired a Boat, and victual'd it; but ſince no body knew whither. His

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Highneſs was gone; and I being unwilling that my Lord ſhould venture upon ſo uncertain a Voyage, and (as the Proverb is) *Seek a Needle in a Bottle of Hay*, he deſiſted from that deſign: The Lord *Widdrington* nevertheleſs, and Sir *Will. Throckmorton*, being reſolved to find out the Prince, but having by a ſtorm been driven towards the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and endangered their lives, they returned without obtaining their aim.

After ſome little time, my Lord having notice that the Prince was arrived at the *Hague*, he went to wait on His Highneſs (which he alſo did afterwards at ſeveral times, ſo long as His Highneſs continued there) expecting ſome opportunity where he might be able to ſhew his readineſs to ſerve His King and Countrey, as certainly there was no little hopes for it; for firſt, it was believed that the Engliſh Fleet would come and render it ſelf into the obedience of the Prince; next, it was reported that the Duke of *Hamilton* was going out of *Scotland* with a great Army, into *England*, to the aſſiſtance of His Majeſty, and that His Majeſty had then ſome party at *Colcheſter*; but it pleaſed God that none of theſe proved effectual: For the Fleet did not come in; the Duke of *Hamilton*'s Army was deſtroyed, and *Colcheſter* was taken by the Enemy, where my dear Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*, and his dear Friend Sir *George Lile*, were moſt inhumanly murther'd and ſhot to death,

they being both Valiant and Heroick Perſons, good Soldiers, and moſt Loyal Subjects to His Majeſty; the one an excellent Commander of Horſe, the other of Foot.

My Lord having now lived in *Rotterdam* almoſt ſix months, at a great charge, keeping an open and noble Table for all comers, and being pleaſed eſpecially to entertain ſuch as were excellent Soldiers, and noted Commanders of War, whoſe kindneſs he took as a great Obligation, ſtill hoping that ſome occaſion would happen to invite thoſe worthy Perſons into *England* to ſerve His Majeſty; but ſeeing no probability of either returning into *England*, or doing His Majeſty any ſervice in that kind, he reſolved to retire to ſome place where he might live privately; and having choſen the City of *Antwerp* for that purpoſe, went to the *Hague* to take his leave of His Highneſs the Prince, our now gracious Soveraign. My Lord had then but a ſmall ſtock of money left; for though the then *Marqueſs* of *Hereford* (after Duke of *Somerſet*, and his Couſin-German, once removed, the now Earl of *Devonſhire* had lent him 2000 l. between them; yet all that was ſpent, and above 1000 l. more, which my Lord borrowed during the time he lived in *Rotterdam*, his Expence being the more, by reaſon (as I mentioned) he lived freely and nobly.

However my Lord, notwithſtanding that little provi-

proviſion of Money he had, ſet forth from *Rotterdam* to *Antwerp*, where for ſome time he lay in a publick Inne, until one of his Friends that had a great love and reſpect for my Lord, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, who was Groom of the Bed-chamber to His Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt (a place not onely honourable, but very profitable) being not willing that a Perſon of ſuch Quality as my Lord, ſhould lie in a publick Houſe, profer'd him Lodgings at the Houſe where he was, and would not let my Lord be at quiet, until he had accepted of them.

My Lord after he had ſtay'd ſome while there, endeavouring to find out a Houſe for himſelf which might fit him and his ſmall Family, (for at that time he had put off moſt of his Train) and alſo be for his own content, lighted on one that belonged to the Widow of a famous Picture-drawer, *Van Ruben*, which he took.

About this time my Lord was much neceſſitated for Money, which forced him to try ſeveral ways for to obtain ſo much as would relieve his preſent wants. At laſt Mr. *Alesbury*, the onely Son to Sir *Th. Alesbury*, Knight and Baronet, and Brother to the now Counteſs of *Clarendon*, a very worthy Gentleman, and great Friend to my Lord, having ſome Moneys that belonged to the now Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſeeing my Lord in ſo great diſtreſs, did him the favour

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to lend him 200 l. (which money my Lord ſince his return hath honeſtly and juſtly repai'd) This relief came ſo ſeaſonably, that it got my Lord Credit in the City of *Antwerp*, whereas otherwiſe he would have loſt himſelf to his great diſadvantage; for my Lord having hired the houſe aforementioned, and wanting Furniture for it, was credited by the Citizens for as many Goods as he was pleaſed to have, as alſo for *Meat* and Drink, and all kind of neceſſaries and proviſions, which certainly was a ſpecial Bleſſing of God, he being not onely a ſtranger in that Nation, but to all appearance, a Ruined man.

After my Lord had been in *Antwerp* ſometime, where he lived as retiredly as it was poſſible for him to do, he gained much love and reſpect of all that knew or had any buſineſs with him: At the beginning of our coming thither, we found but few Engliſh (except thoſe that were Merchants) but afterwards their number increaſed much, eſpecially of Perſons of Quality; and whereas at firſt there were no more but four Coaches that went the *Tour*, *viz.* the Governors of the Caſtle, my Lords, and two more, they amounted to the number of above a hundred, before we went from thence; for all thoſe that had ſufficient means, and could go to the price, kept Coaches, and went the *Tour* for their own pleaſure. And certainly I cannot in duty and conſcience but give this Publick Teſtimony to that place, That whereas I have obſerv'd,

ſerv'd, that moſt commonly ſuch Towns or Cities where the Prince of that Country doth not reſide himſelf, or where there is no great reſort of the chief Nobility and Gentry, are but little civiliſed; Certainly the Inhabitants of the ſaid City of *Antwerp* are the civileſt, and beſt behaved People that ever I ſaw; ſo that my Lord lived there with as much content as a man of his condition could do, and his chief paſtime and divertiſement conſiſted in the Mannage of the two afore mentioned Horſes; which he had not enjoyed long, but the *Barbary*-horſe, for which he paid 200 Piſtols in *Paris*, died, and ſoon after the Horſe which he had from the Lord *Crofts*; and though he wanted preſent means to repair theſe his loſſes, yet he endeavoured and obtained ſo much Credit at laſt, that he was able to buy two others, and by degrees ſo many as amounted in all to the number of 8. In which he took ſo much delight and pleaſure, that though he was then in diſtreſs for Money, yet he would ſooner have tried all other ways, then parted with any of them; for I have hear'd him ſay, that good Horſes are ſo rare, as not to be valued for Mony, and that He who would buy him out of his Pleaſure, (meaning his Horſes) muſt pay dear for it. For inſtance I ſhall mention ſome paſſages which happen'd when My Lord was in *Antwerp*.

Firſt; A ſtranger coming thither, and ſeeing my Lords Horſes, had a great mind to buy one of them,

which my Lord loved above the reſt, and called him his Favourite, a fine *Spaniſh* Horſe; intreating my Lords Eſcuyer to acquaint him with his deſire, and ask the price of the ſaid Horſe: My Lord, when he heard of it, commanded his Servant, that if the Chapman returned, he ſhould be brought before him; which being done accordingly, my Lord asked him, whether he was reſolved to buy his *Spaniſh* Horſe? Yes, anſwered he, my Lord, and I'le give your Lordſhip a good price for him. I make no doubt of it, replied My Lord, or elſe you ſhall not have him: But you muſt know, ſaid he, that the price of that Horſe is 1000 l. to day, to morrow it will be 2000 l. next day 3000 l. and ſo forth. By which the Chapman perceiving that my Lord was unwilling to part with the ſaid Horſe for any Money, took his leave, and ſo went his ways.

The next was, That the Duke *de Guiſe*, who was alſo a great lover of good Horſes, hearing much Commendation of a gray leaping Horſe, which my Lord then had, told the Gentleman that praiſed and commended him, That if my Lord was willing to ſell the ſaid Horſe, he would give 600 Piſtols for him. The Gentleman knowing my Lords humour, anſwered again, That he was confident, my Lord would never part with him for any mony, and to that purpoſe ſent a Letter to my Lord from *Paris*; but my Lord was ſo far from ſelling that Horſe, that he was

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diſpleaſed to hear that any Price ſhould be offer'd for him: So great a Love hath my Lord for good Horſes! And certainly I have obſerved, and do verily believe, that ſome of them had alſo a particular Love to my Lord; for they ſeemed to rejoice whenſoever he came into the Stables, by their trampling action, and the noiſe they made; nay, they would go much better in the Mannage, when my Lord was by, then when he was abſent; and when he rid them himſelf, they ſeemed to take much pleaſure and pride in it. But of all ſorts of Horſes, my Lord loved *Spaniſh* Horſes and *Barbes* beſt; ſaying, That *Spaniſh* Horſes were like Princes, and *Barbes* like Gentlemen, in their kind. And this was the chief Recreation and Paſtime my Lord had in *Antwerp*.

I will now return to my former Diſcourſe, and the Relation of ſome Important Affairs and Actions which happen'd about this time: His Majeſty (our now Gracious King, *Charles* the Second) ſome time after he was gone out of *Holland*, and returned into *France*, took his Journey from thence to *Breda* (if I remember well) to treat there with his Subjects of *Scotland*, who had then made ſome offers of Agreement: My Lord, according to his duty, went thither to wait on His Majeſty, and was there in Council with His Majeſty, His Highneſs the then Prince of *Orange*, His Majeſties Brother-in-law, and

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ſome other Privy-Counſellors; in which, after ſeveral Debates concerning that Important Affair, His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and my Lord, agreed in one Opinion, *viz.* That they could perceive no other and better way at that preſent for His Majeſty, but to make an Agreement with His Subjects of *Scotland*, upon any Condition, and to go into *Scotland* in Perſon Himſelf, that he might but be ſure of an Army, there being no probability or appearance then of getting an Army any where elſe. Which Counſel, either out of the then alledged Reaſons, or ſome others beſt known to His Majeſty, was embraced; His Majeſty agreeing with the *Scots* ſo far, (notwithſtanding they were ſo unreaſonable in their Treaty, that His Majeſty had hardly Patience to hear them) that he reſolved to go into *Scotland* in Perſon; and though my Lord had an earneſt deſire to wait on His Majeſty thither, yet the *Scots* would not ſuffer him to come, or be in any part of that Kingdom: Wherefore out of his Loyalty and Duty, he gave His Majeſty the beſt advice he could, *viz.* that he conceived it moſt ſafe for His Majeſty to adhere to the Earl of *Argyle*'s Party, which he ſuppoſed to be the ſtrongeſt; but eſpecially, to reconcile *Hamilton*'s and *Argyle*'s Party, and compoſe the differences between them; for then His Majeſty would be ſure of Two Parties, whereas otherwiſe He would leave an Enemy behind Him, which might cauſe

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His overthrow, and endanger His Majeſties Perſon; and if His Majeſty could but get the Power into his own hands, he might do hereafter what he pleaſed.

His Majeſty being arrived in *Scotland*, ordered his affairs ſo wiſely, that ſoon after he got an Army to march with him into *England*; but whether they were all Loyal, is not for me to diſpute: However *Argyle* was diſcontented, as it appear'd by two complaining Letters he ſent to my Lord, which my Lord gave His Majeſty notice of; ſo that onely the Duke of *Hamilton* went with His Majeſty, who fought and died like a Valiant Man, and a Loyal ſubject. In this fight between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, His Majeſty expreſſed an extraordinary Courage; and though his Army was in a manner deſtroyed, yet the Glory of an Heroick Prince remained with our gracious Soveraign.

In the mean time, whileſt His Majeſty was yet in *Scotland*, and before he marched with His Army into *England*, it happen'd that the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke of *Newburg*, upon ſome differences, having raiſed Forces againſt each other, but afterwards concluded a Peace between them, were pleaſed to profer thoſe Forces to my Lord for His Majeſties uſe and ſervice, which (as the Lord Chancellour, who was then in *France*, ſent word to my Lord) was the onely Foreign profer that had been made to his Majeſty. My Lord immediately gave His Majeſty notice of it; but whether it was for want of convenient Tranſporta-

tion, or Mony, or that the *Scots* did not like the assistance, that profer was not accepted.

Concerning the affairs and intrigues that pass'd in *Scotland*, and *England*, during the time of His Majesties stay there, I am ignorant of them; neither doth it belong to me now to write, or give an account of any thing else but what concerns the History of my Noble Lord and Husbands Life, and his own Actions; who so soon as he had Intelligence that the *Scottish* Army, which went with His Majesty into *England*, was defeated, and that no body knew what was become of His Majesty, fell into so violent a Passion, that I verily believed it would have endanger'd his life; but when afterwards the happy news came of His Majejesties safe arrival in *France*, never any Subject could rejoice more then my Lord did.

About this time it chanced, that my Lords Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, and my self, took a journey into *England*, occasioned both by my Lord's extream want and necessity, and his Bothers Estate; which having been under Sequestration from the time (or soon after) he went out of *England*, was then, in case he did not return and compound for it, to be sold out-right; Sir *Charles* was unwilling to receive his Estate upon such conditions, and would rather have lost it, then compounded for it: But my Lord considering it was better to recover something, then lose all, intreated the Lord Chancellour, who was then in *Antwerp*, to perswade

ſwade his Brother to a compoſition, which his Lordſhip did very effectually, and proved himſelf a Noble and true Friend in it. We had ſo ſmall a Proviſion of money when we ſet forth our Journey for *England*, that it was hardly able to carry us to *London*, but were forced to ſtay at *Southwark*; where Sir *Charles* ſent into *London* for one that had formerly been his Steward; and having declared to him his wants and neceſſities, deſir'd him to try his Credit. He ſeemed ready to do his Maſter what ſervice he could in that kind; but pretending withall, that his Credit was but ſmall, Sir *Charles* gave him his Watch to pawn, and with that money paid thoſe ſmall ſcores we had made in our Lodging there. From thence we went to ſome other Lodgings that were prepared for us in *Covent-Garden*; and having reſted our ſelves ſome time, I deſired my Brother the Lord *Lucas*, to claim, in my behalf, ſome ſubſiſtance for my ſelf out of my Lords Eſtate, (for it was declared by the Parliament, That the Lands of thoſe that were baniſhed, ſhould be ſold to any that would buy them, onely their Wives and Children were allowed to put in their Claims:) But he received this Anſwer, That I could not expect the leaſt allowance, by reaſon my Lord and Husband had been the greateſt Traitor of *England* (that is to ſay, the honeſteſt man, becauſe he had been moſt againſt them.)

Then Sir *Charles* intruſted ſome perſons to compound

pound for his Eſtate; but it being a good while before they agreed in their Compoſition, and then before the Rents could be received, we having in the mean time nothing to live on, muſt of neceſſity have been ſtarved, had not Sir *Charles* got ſome Credit of ſeveral Perſons, and that not without great difficulty; for all thoſe that had Eſtates, were afraid to come near him, much leſs to aſſiſt him, until he was ſure of his own Eſtate. So much is Miſery and Poverty ſhun'd!

But though our Condition was hard, yet my dear Lord and Husband, whom we left in *Antwerp*, was then in a far greater diſtreſs then our ſelves; for at our departure he had nothing but what his Credit was able to procure him; and having run upon the ſcore ſo long without paying any the leaſt part thereof, his Creditors began to grow impatient, and reſolved to truſt him no longer: Wherefore he ſent me word, That if his Brother did not preſently relieve him, he was forced to ſtarve. Which doleful news cauſed great ſadneſs and melancholy in us both, and withal made his Brother try his utmoſt endeavour to procure what moneys he could for his ſubſiſtance, who at laſt got 200 l. *ſterl.* upon Credit, which he immediately made over to my Lord.

But in the mean time, before the ſaid money could come to his hands, my Lord had been forced to ſend for all his Creditors, and declare to them his great wants

and

and neceſſities; where his Speech was ſo effectual, and made ſuch an impreſſion in them, that they had all a deep ſenſe of my Lords Misfortunes; and inſtead of urging the payment of his Debts, promiſed him, That he ſhould not want any thing in whatſoever they were able to aſſiſt him; which they alſo very nobly and civilly performed, furniſhing him with all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries for his further ſubſiſtance; ſo that my Lord was then in a much better condition amongſt ſtrangers, then we in our Native Countrey.

At laſt when Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* had compounded for his Eſtate, and agreed to pay 4500 l. for it, the Parliament cauſed it again to be ſurveyed, and made him pay 500 l. more, which was more then many others had paid for much greater Eſtates; ſo that Sir *Charles* to pay this Compoſition, and diſcharge ſome Debts, was neceſſitated to ſell ſome Land of his at an under-rate. My Lords two Sons (who were alſo in *England* at that time) were no leſs in want and neceſſity, then we, having nothing but bare Credit to live on; and my Lords Eſtate being then to be ſold outright, Sir *Charles*, his Brother, endeavoured, if poſſible, to ſave the two chief Houſes, *viz. Welbeck* and *Bolſover*, being reſolved rather to part with ſome more of his Land, which he had lately compounded for, then to let them fall into the Enemies hands; but before ſuch

time as he could compaſs the money, ſome body had bought *Bolſover*, with an intention to pull it down, and make money of the Materials; of whom Sir *Charles* was forced to buy it again at a far greater Rate then he might have had it at firſt, notwithſtanding a great part of it was pulled down already; and though my Lords eldeſt Son *Charles* Lord *Mansfield*, had thoſe mentioned Houſes ſome time in poſſeſſion, after the death of his Uncle; yet for want of Means he was not able to repair them.

I having now been in *England* a year and a half, ſome Intelligence which I received of my Lords being not very well, and the ſmall hopes I had of getting ſome relief out of his Eſtate, put me upon deſign of returning to *Antwerp* to my Lord; and Sir *Charles*, his Brother, took the ſame reſolution, but was prevented by an Ague that ſeized upon him. Not long had I been with my Lord, but we received the ſad news of his Brothers death, which was an extream affliction both to my Lord, and my ſelf, for they loved each other entirely: In truth, He was a Perſon of ſo great worth, ſuch extraordinary civility, ſo obliging a Nature, ſo full of Generoſity, Juſtice and Charity, beſides all manner of Learning, eſpecially in the *Mathematicks*, that not onely his Friends, but even his Enemies, did much lament his loſs.

After my return out of *England*, to my Lord, the Credi-

Creditors ſuppoſing I had brought great ſtore of money along with me, came all to my Lord to ſolicite the payment of their Debts; but when my Lord had informed them of the truth of the buſineſs, and deſired their patience ſomewhat longer, with aſſurance that ſo ſoon as he received any money, he would honeſtly and juſtly ſatisfie them, they were not onely willing to forbear the payment of thoſe Debts he had contracted hitherto, but to credit him for the future, and ſupply him with ſuch Neceſſaries as he ſhould deſire of them. And this was the onely happineſs which my Lord had in his diſtreſſed condition, and the chief bleſſing of the Eternal and Merciful God, in whoſe Power are all things, who ruled the hearts and minds of men, and filled them with Charity and Compaſſion; for certainly it was a work of Divine Providence, that they ſhewed ſo much love, reſpect and honour to my Lord, a ſtranger to their Nation; and notwithſtanding his ruined Condition, and the ſmall appearance of recovering his own, credited him whereſoever he lived, both in *France*, *Holland*, *Brabant* and *Germany*; that although my Lord was baniſhed his Native Countrey, and diſpoſſeſſed from his own Eſtate, could nevertheleſs live in ſo much Splendor and Grandure as he did.

In this Condition (and how little ſoever the appearance was) my Lord was never without hopes of ſeeing

ſeeing yet (before his death) a happy iſſue of all his misfortunes and ſufferings, eſpecially of the Reſtauration of His moſt Gracious King and Maſter, to His Throne and Kingly Rights, whereof he always had aſſured Hopes, well knowing, that it was impoſſible for the Kingdom to ſubſiſt long under ſo many changes of Government; and whenſoever I expreſſed how little faith I had in it, he would gently reprove me, ſaying, I believ'd leaſt, what I deſir'd moſt; and could never be happy if I endeavour'd to exclude all hopes, and entertain'd nothing but doubts and fears.

The City of *Antwerp* in which we lived, being a place of great reſort for Strangers and Travellers, His Majeſty (our now gracious King, *Charles* the *Second*) paſſed thorough it, when he went his Journey towards *Germany*; and after my Lord had done his humble duty, and waited on His Majeſty, He was pleaſed to Honour him with His Preſence at his Houſe. The ſame did almoſt all ſtrangers that were Perſons of Quality; if they made any ſtay in the Town, they would come and viſit my Lord, and ſee the Mannage of his Horſes: And, amongſt the reſt, the Duke of *Oldenburg*, and the Prince of *Eaſt-Frieſland*, did my Lord the Honour, and preſented him with Horſes of their own breed.

One time it happen'd, that His Highneſs *Dom John d' Auſtria* (who was then Governour of thoſe Provinces) came

came to *Antwerp*, and ſtayed there ſome few days; and then almoſt all his Court waited on my Lord, ſo that one day I reckoned about ſeventeen Coaches, in which were all Perſons of Quality, who came in the morning of purpoſe to ſee my Lord's Mannage; My Lord receiving ſo great an honour thought it fit to ſhew his reſpect and civility to them, and to ride ſome of his Horſes himſelf, which otherwiſe he never did but for his own excerciſe and delight. Amongſt the reſt of thoſe great and noble Perſons, there were two of our Nation, *viz.* the then Marqueſs, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Briſtol*; but *Dom John* was not there in Perſon, excuſing himſelf afterwards to my Lord (when my Lord waited on him) that the multiplicity of his weighty affairs had hindred his coming thither, which my Lord accounted as a very high honour and favour from ſo great a Prince; and conceiving it his duty to wait on his Highneſs, but being unknown to him, the Earl of *Briſtol*, who had acquaintance with him, did my Lord the favour, and upon his requeſt, preſented him to his Highneſs; which favour of the ſaid Earl my Lord highly reſented.

Dom John received my Lord with all kindneſs and reſpect; for although there were many great and noble Perſons that waited on him in an out room, yet ſo ſoon as his Highneſs heard of my Lord's, and the Earl of *Briſtol's* being there, he was pleaſed to admit them before all the reſt. My Lord, after he had paſſed his

Complements, told His Highneſs, That he found himſelf bound in all duty, to make his humble acknowledgments for the Favour he received from His Catholick Majeſty, for permitting and ſuffering him (a baniſhed man) to live in His Dominions, and under the Government of His Highneſs; whereupon *Dom John* ask'd my Lord whether he wanted any thing, and whether he liv'd peaceably without any moleſtation or diſturbance? My Lord anſwer'd, That he lived as much to his own content, as a baniſh'd man could do; and received more reſpect and civility from that City, then he could have expected; for which he returned his moſt humble thanks to his Catholick Majeſty, and His Highneſs. After ſome ſhort Diſcourſe, my Lord took his leave of *Dom John;* Several of the *Spaniards* adviſing him to go into *Spain*, and aſſuring him of His Catholick Majeſties Kindneſs and Favour; but my Lord being engaged in the City of *Antwerp*, and beſides, in years, and wanting means for ſo long and chargeable a voyage, was not able to embrace their motions; and ſurely he was ſo well pleaſed with the great Civilities he received from that City, that then he was reſolved to chuſe no other reſiding place all the time of his baniſhment, but that; he being not onely credited there for all manner of Proviſions and Neceſſaries for his ſubſiſtance, but alſo free both from ordinary and extraordinary Taxes, and from paying Exciſe,

which

which was a great favour and obligation to my Lord.

§ After His Highneſs *Dom John* had left the Government of thoſe Provinces, the Marqueſs of *Caracena* ſucceeded in his place, who having a great deſire to ſee my Lord ride in the Mannage, entreated a Gentleman of the City, that was acquainted with my Lord, to beg that favour of him. My Lord having not been at that Exerciſe ſix weeks, or two months, by reaſon of ſome ſickneſs that made him unfit for it, civilly begg'd his excuſe; but he was ſo much importuned by the ſaid Gentleman, that at laſt he granted his Requeſt, and rid one or two Horſes in preſence of the ſaid Marqueſs of *Caracena*, and the then Marqueſs, now Duke of *Ormond*, who often uſed to honour my Lord with his Company: The ſaid Marqueſs of *Caracena* ſeem'd to take much pleaſure and ſatisfaction in it, and highly complemented my Lord; and certainly I have obſerved, That Noble and Meritorious perſons take great delight in honouring each other.

But not onely ſtrangers, but His Majeſty Himſelf (our now Gracious Soveraign) was pleaſed to ſee my Lord ride, and one time did ride Himſelf, He being an Excellent Maſter of that Art, and inſtructed by my Lord, who had the Honour to ſet Him firſt on a Horſe of Mannage, when he was His Governour; where His Majeſties Capacity was ſuch, that being but Ten years of Age, he would

would ride leaping Horſes, and ſuch as would overthrow others, and mannage them with the greateſt Skill and Dexterity, to the admiration of all that beheld Him.

Nor was this the onely Honour my Lord received from His Majeſty, but His Majeſty and all the Royal Race; that is to ſay, Her Highneſs the then Princeſs Royal, His Highneſs the Duke of *York*, with His Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, (except the Princeſſe *Henrietta*, now Ducheſs of *Orleans*) being met one time in *Antwerp*, were pleaſed to honour my Lord with their Preſence, and accept of a ſmall Entertainment at his Houſe, ſuch as his preſent Condition was able to afford them. And ſome other time His Majeſty paſſing through the City, was pleaſed to accept of a private Dinner at my Lord's Houſe; after which I receiving that gracious Favour from His Majeſty, that he was pleaſed to ſee me, he did merrily, and in jeſt, tell me, *That he perceived my Lord's Credit could procure better Meat then His own*; Again, ſome other time, upon a merry Challenge playing a Game at Butts with my Lord, (when my Lord had the better of Him) *What* (ſaid He) *my Lord, have you invited me, to play the Rook with me?* Although their Stakes were not at all conſiderable, but onely for Paſtime.

Theſe paſſages I mention onely to declare my Lord's happineſs in his miſeries, which he received by the honour

nour and kindneſs not onely of foreign Princes, but of his own Maſter, and Gracious Soveraign: I will not ſpeak now of the good eſteem and repute he had by his late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and Her Majeſty the now Queen-Mother, who always held and found him a very loyal and faithful Subject, although Fortune was pleaſed to oppoſe him in the height of his endeavours; for his onely and chief intention was to hinder His Majeſties Enemies from executing that cruel deſign which they had upon their gracious and merciful King; In which he tried his uttermoſt power, in ſo much, that I have heard him ſay out of a paſſionate Zeal and Loyalty, That he would willingly ſacrifice himſelf, and all his Poſterity, for the ſake of his Majeſty, and the Royal Race. Nor did he ever repine either at his loſſes or ſufferings, but rejoyced rather that he was able to ſuffer for His King and Countrey. His Army was the onely Army that was able to uphold His Majeſties Power; which ſo long as it was Victorious, it preſerved both His Majeſties Perſon and Crown; but ſo ſoon as it fell, that fell too: and my Lord was then in a manner forced to ſeek his own preſervation in foreign Countries, where God was pleaſed to make ſtrangers his Friends, who received and protected him when he was baniſhed his native Country, and relieved him when his own Country-men ſought to ſtarve him, by withholding from him what was juſtly his own, onely for his Honeſty and Loy-

alty; which relief he received more from the Commons of thoſe parts where he lived, then from Princes, he being unwilling to trouble any foreign Prince with his wants and miſeries, well knowing, that Gifts of Great Princes come ſlowly, and not without much difficulty; neither loves he to petition any one but His own Soveraign.

But though my Lord by the civility of Strangers, and the aſſiſtance of ſome few Friends of his native Country, lived in an indifferent Condition, yet (as it hath been declared heretofore) he was put to great plunges and difficulties, in ſo much that his dear Brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* would often ſay, That though he could not truly complain of want, yet his meat never did him good, by reaſon my Lord, his Brother, was always ſo near wanting, that he was never ſure after one meal to have another: And though I was not afraid of ſtarving or begging, yet my chief fear was, that my Lord for his debts would ſuffer Impriſonment, where ſadneſs of Mind, and want of Exerciſe, and Air, would have wrought his deſtruction, which yet by the Mercy of God he happily avoided.

Some time before the Reſtauration of His Majeſty to his Royal Throne, my Lord, partly with the remainder of his Brothers Eſtate, which was but little, it being waſted by ſelling of Land for compounding with the Parliament, paying of ſeveral debts, and buying out the two Houſes aforementioned, *viz. Welbeck*

beck and *Bolſover*; and the Credit which his Sons had got, which amounted in all to 2400 l. a year, ſprinkled ſomething amongſt his Creditors, and borrowed ſo much of Mr. *Top* and Mr. *Smith* (though without aſſurance) that he could pay ſuch ſcores as were moſt preſſing, contracted from the poorer ſort of Trades-men, and ſend ready mony to Market, to avoid cozenage (for ſmall ſcores run up moſt unreaſonably, eſpecially if no ſtrict accounts be kept, and the rate be left to the Creditors pleaſure) by which means there was in a ſhort time ſo much ſaved, as it could not have been imagined.

About this time, a report came of a great number of Sectaries, and of ſeveral diſturbances in *England*, which heightned my Lord's former hopes into a firm belief of a ſudden Change in that Kingdom, and a happy Reſtauration of His Majeſty, which it alſo pleaſed God to ſend according to his expectation; for His Majeſty was invited by his Subjects, who were not able longer to endure thoſe great confuſions and encumbrances they had ſuſtained hitherto, to take poſſeſſion of His Hereditary Rights, aud the powet of all his Dominions: And being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, to take ſhipping in thoſe parts for *England*, my Lord went thither to wait on his Majeſty, who uſed my Lord very Graciouſly; and his Highneſs the Duke of *York* was pleaſed to offer him one of thoſe Ships that were ordered to tranſport His Majeſty; for which he returned

returned his moſt humble thanks to his Highneſs, and begg'd leave of His Highneſs that he might hire a Veſſel for himſelf and his Company.

In the mean time whilſt my Lord was at the *Hague*, His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell him, That General *Monk*, now Duke of *Albemarle*, had deſired the Place of being Maſter of the Horſe: To which my Lord anſwer'd, That that gallant Perſon was worthy of any Favour that His Majeſty could confer upon him: And having taken his leave of His Majeſty, and His Highneſs the Duke of *York*, went towards the Ship that was to tranſport him for *England*, (I might better call it a Boat, then a Ship; for thoſe that were intruſted by my Lord to hire a Ship for that purpoſe, had hired an old rotten Fregat, that was loſt the next Voyage after; inſomuch, that when ſome of the Company that had promiſed to go over with my Lord, ſaw it, they turn'd back, and would not endanger their lives in it, except the now Lord *Widdrington*, who was reſolved not to forſake my Lord.)

My Lord (who was ſo tranſported with the joy of returning into his Native Countrey, that he regarded not the Veſſel) having ſet Sail from *Rotterdam*, was ſo becalmed, that he was ſix dayes and ſix nights upon the Water, during which time he pleaſed himſelf with mirth, and paſs'd his time away as well as he could; Proviſions he wanted not, having

ving them in great ſtore and plenty. At laſt being come ſo far that he was able to diſcern the ſmoak of *London*, which he had not ſeen in a long time, he merrily was pleaſed to deſire one that was near him, to jogg and awake him out of his dream, for ſurely, ſaid he, I have been ſixteen years aſleep, and am not throughly awake yet. My Lord lay that night at *Greenwich*, where his Supper ſeem'd more ſavoury to him, then any meat he had hitherto taſted; and the noiſe of ſome ſcraping Fidlers, he thought the pleaſanteſt harmony that ever he had heard.

In the mean time my Lords Son, *Henry* Lord *Mansfield*, now Earl of *Ogle*, was gone to *Dover* with intention to wait on His Majeſty, and receive my Lord, his Father, with all joy and duty, thinking he had been with His Majeſty; but when he miſs'd of his deſign, he was very much troubled, and more, when His Majeſty was pleas'd to tell him, That my Lord had ſet to Sea, before His Majeſty Himſelf was gone out of *Holland*, fearing my Lord had met with ſome Misfortune in his Journey, becauſe he had not heard of his Landing. Wherefore he immediately parted from *Dover*, to ſeek my Lord, whom at laſt he found at *Greenwich*; with what joy they embraced and ſaluted each other, my Pen is too weak to expreſs.

But all this while, and after my Lord was gone from *Antwerp*, I was left alone there with ſome of my

ſervants; for my Lord being in *Holland* with His Majeſty, declared in a Letter to me his intention of going for *England*, withal commanding me to ſtay in that City, as a Pawn for his debts, until he could compaſs money to diſcharge them; and to excuſe him to the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City for not taking his leave of them, and paying his due thanks for their great civilities, which he deſired me to do in his behalf. And certainly my Lords affection to me was ſuch, that it made him very induſtrious in providing thoſe means; for it being uncertain what or whether he ſhould have any thing of his Eſtate, made it a difficult buſineſs for him to borrow Mony; At laſt he received ſome of one Mr. *Aſh*, now Sir *Joſeph Aſh*, a Merchant of *Antwerp*, which he returned to me; but what with the expence I had made in the mean while, and what was required for my tranſporting into *England*, beſides the debts formerly contracted, the ſaid money fell too ſhort by 400 l. and although I could have upon my own word taken up much more, yet I was unwilling to leave an engagement amongſt ſtrangers: Wherefore I ſent for one Mr. *Shaw*, now Sir *John Shaw*, a near kindſman to the ſaid Mr. *Aſh*, intreating him to lend me 400 l. which he did moſt readily, and ſo diſcharged my debts.

My departure being now divulged in *Antwerp*, the Magiſtrates of the City came to take their leaves of me, where I deſired one Mr. *Duart* a very worthy Gentleman,

man, and one of the chief of the City, though he derives his Race from the *Portuguez* (to whom and his Siſters, all very skilful in the Art of Muſick, though for their own paſtime and Recreation, both my Lord and my ſelf were much bound for their great civilities) to be my Interpreter. They were pleaſed to expreſs that they were ſorry for our departure out of their City, but withal rejoyced at our happy returning into our Native Country, and wiſhed me ſoon and well to the place where I moſt deſired to be: Whereupon I having excuſed my Lord's haſty going away without taking his leave of them, returned them mine and my Lord's hearty Thanks for their great civilities, declaring how ſorry I was that it lay not in my power to make an acknowledgment anſwerable to them. But after their departure from me, they were pleaſed to ſend their Under-Officers (as the cuſtom there is) with a Preſent of Wine, which I received with all reſpect and thankfulneſs.

I being thus prepar'd for my Voyage, went with my Servants to *Fluſſing*, and finding no *Engliſh* Man of War there, being loth to truſt my ſelf with a leſs Veſſel, was at laſt informed that a *Dutch* man of War lay there ready to Convoy ſome Merchants; I forthwith ſent for the Captain thereof, whoſe name was *Bankert*, and asked him whether it was poſſible to obtain the favour of having the uſe of his Ship to tranſport me into *England*? To vvhich he anſvvered, That he queſtion'd

not

not but I might; for the Merchants which he was to convey, were not ready yet, desiring me to send one of my servants to the State, to request that favour of them; with whom he would go himself, and assist him the best he could; which he also did. My suit being granted, my self and my chief servants embarqued in the said Ship; the rest, together with the Goods, being conveyed in another good strong Vessel, hired for that purpose.

After I was safely arrived at *London*, I found my Lord in Lodgings; I cannot call them unhandsome; but yet they were not fit for a Person of his Rank and Quality, nor of the capacity to contain all his Family: Neither did I find my Lord's Condition such as I expected: Wherefore out of some passion I desir'd him to leave the Town, and retire into the Countrey; but my Lord gently reproved me for my rashness and impatience, and soon after removed into *Dorset*-house; which, though it was better then the former, yet not altogether to my satisfaction, we having but a part of the said House in possession. By this removal I judged my Lord would not hastily depart from *London*; but not long after, he was pleased to tell me, That he had dispatched his business, and was now resolved to remove into the Country, having already given order for Waggons to transport our goods, which was no unpleasant news to me, who had a great desire for a Countrey-life.

My

My Lord before he began his Journey, went to his Gracious Soveraign, and begg'd leave that he might retire into the Countrey, to reduce and ſettle, if poſſible, his confuſed, entangled, and almoſt ruined Eſtate. *Sir*, ſaid he to His Majeſty, *I am not ignorant, that many believe I am diſcontented; and 'tis probable they'l ſay, I retire through diſcontent: But I take God to witneſs, That I am in no kind or ways diſpleas'd; for I am ſo joyed at your Majeſties happy Reſtauration, that I cannot be ſad or troubled for any Concern to my own particular; but whatſoever Your Majeſty is pleaſed to command me, were it to ſacrifice my Life, I ſhall moſt obediently perform it; for I have no other Will, but Your Majeſties Pleaſure.*

Thus he kiſſed His Majeſty's hand, and went the next day into *Nottingham-ſhire*, to his Mannor-houſe call'd *Welbeck*; but when he came there, and began to examine his Eſtate, and how it had been ordered in the time of his Baniſhment, he knew not whether he had left any thing of it for himſelf, or not, till by his prudence and wiſdom he inform'd himſelf the beſt he could; examining thoſe that had moſt knowledg therein. Some Lands, he found, could be recover'd no further then for his life, and ſome not at all: Some had been in the Rebels hands, which he could not recover, but by His Highneſs the Duke of *York*'s favour; to whom His Majeſty had given all the Eſtates of thoſe that were condemned and execu-

ted for murdering his Royal Father of bleſſed memory, which by the Law were forfeited to His Majeſty; whereof His Highneſs graciouſly reſtor'd my Lord ſo much of the Land that formerly had been his, as amounted to 730 l. a year. And though my Lord's Children had their Claims granted, and bought out the Life of my Lord, their Father, which came near upon the third part, yet my Lord received nothing for himſelf out of his own Eſtate, for the ſpace of eighteen years, viz. During the time from the firſt entring into Warr, which was *June* 11. 1642, till his return out of Baniſhment, *May* 28. 1660; for though his Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, and his eldeſt Daughter, the now Lady *Cheiny*, did all what lay in their power to relieve my Lord their Father, and ſent him ſome ſupplies of moneys at ſeveral times when he was in baniſhment; yet that was of their own, rather then out of my Lord's Eſtate; for the Lady *Cheiny* ſold ſome few Jewels which my Lord, her Father, had left her, and ſome Chamber-Plate which ſhe had from her Grandmother, and ſent over the money to my Lord, beſides 1000 l. of her Portion: And the now Earl of *Ogle* did at ſeveral times ſupply my Lord, his Father, with ſuch moneys as he had partly obtained upon Credit, and partly made by his Marriage.

After my Lord had begun to view thoſe Ruines that were neareſt, and tried the Law to keep or recover

cover what formerly was his, (which certainly ſhew'd no favour to him, beſides that the Act of Oblivion proved a great hinderance and obſtruction to thoſe his deſigns, as it did no leſs to all the Royal Party) and had ſetled ſo much of his Eſtate as poſſibly he could, he caſt up the Summ of his Debts, and ſet out ſeveral parts of Land for the payment of them, or of ſome of them (for ſome of his Lands could not be eaſily ſold, being entailed) and ſome he ſold in *Derbyſhire* to buy the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, which although it is quite ruined and demoliſht, yet, it being a ſeat which had pleaſed his Father very much, he would not leave it ſince it was offer'd to be ſold.

His two Houſes *Welbeck* and *Bolſover* he found much out of repair, and this later half pull'd down, no furniture or any neceſſary Goods were left in them, but ſome few Hangings and Pictures, which had been ſaved by the care and induſtry of his Eldeſt Daughter the Lady *Cheiny*, and were bought over again after the death of his eldeſt Son *Charles*, Lord *Mansfield*; for they being given to him, and he leaving ſome debts to be paid after his death, My Lord ſent to his other Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, to endeavour for ſo much Credit, that the ſaid Hangings and Pictures (which my Lord eſteemed very much, the Pictures being drawn by *Van Dyke*) might be ſaved; which he alſo did, and My Lord hath paid the debt ſince his return.

Of

Of eight Parks, which my Lord had before the Wars, there was but one left that was not quite deſtroyed, *viz.* *Welbeck*-Park of about four miles compaſs; for my Lord's Brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, who bought out the life of my Lord in that Lordſhip, ſaved moſt part of it from being cut down; and in *Blore*-Park there were ſome few Deer left: The reſt of the Parks were totally defaced and deſtroyed, both Wood, Pales and Deer; amongſt which was alſo *Clipſton*-Park of ſeven miles compaſs, wherein my Lord had taken much delight formerly, it being rich of Wood, and containing the greateſt and talleſt Timber-trees of all the Woods he had; in ſo much, that onely the Pale-row was valued at 2000 l. It was water'd by a pleaſant River that runs through it, full of Fiſh and Otters; was well ſtock'd with Deer, full of Hares, and had great ſtore of Partriges, Poots, Pheaſants, *&c.* beſides all ſorts of Water-fowl; ſo that this Park afforded all manner of ſports, for Hunting, Hawking, Courſing, Fiſhing, *&c.* for which my Lord eſteemed it very much: And although his Patience and Wiſdom is ſuch, that I never perceived him ſad or diſcontented for his own Loſſes and Misfortunes, yet when he beheld the ruines of that Park, I obſerved him troubled, though he did little expreſs it, onely ſaying, he had been in hopes it would not have been ſo much defaced as he found it, there being not one Timber-tree in it left for ſhelter. However he patiently bore

what

what could not be helped, and gave preſent order for the cutting down of ſome Wood that was left him in a place near adjoining, to repale it, and got from ſeveral Friends Deer to ſtock it.

Thus though his Law-ſuits and other unavoidable expences were very chargeable to him, yet he order'd his affairs ſo prudently, that by degrees he ſtock'd and manur'd thoſe Lands he keeps for his own uſe, and in part repaired his Mannor-houſes, *Welbeck*, and *Bolſover*, to which later he made ſome additional building; and though he has not yet built the Seat at *Nottingham*, yet he hath ſtock'd and paled a little Park belonging to it.

Nor is it poſſible for him to repair all the ruines of the Eſtate that is left him, in ſo ſhort a time, they being ſo great, and his loſſes ſo conſiderable, that I cannot without grief and trouble remember them; for before the Wars my Lord had as great an Eſtate as any ſubject in the Kingdom, deſcended upon him moſt by Women, *viz.* by his Grandmother of his Father's ſide, his own Mother, and his firſt Wife.

What Eſtate his Grandfather left to his Father Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, I know not; nor can I exactly tell what he had from his Grandmother, but ſhe was very rich; for her third Husband Sir *Will.* Saint *Loo*, gave her a good Eſtate in the Weſt, which afterwards deſcended upon my Lord, my Lord's Mother being the younger daughter of the Lord *Ogle*, and ſole

Heir, after the death of her eldeſt Siſter *Jane*, Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*, whom King *Charles* the Firſt reſtored to her Fathers Dignity, *viz.* Baroneſs of *Ogle*: This Title deſcended upon my Lord and his Heirs General, together with 3000 l. a year in *Northumberland*; and beſides the Eſtate left to my Lord, ſhe gave him 20000 l. in Money, and kept him and his Family at her own charge for ſeveral years.

My Lord's firſt Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to *William Baſſet* of *Blore* Eſq; Widow to *Henry Howard*, younger Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, brought my Lord 2400 l. a Year Inheritance, between ſix and ſeven thouſand Pounds in Money, and a jointure for her life of 800 l. a Year. Beſides my Lord increaſed his own Eſtate before the Wars, to the value of 100000 l. and had increaſed it more, had not the unhappy Wars prevented him; for though he had ſome diſadvantages in his Eſtate, even before the Wars, yet they are not conſiderable to thoſe he ſuffered afterwards for the ſervice of his King and Country: For example, His Father Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* had lent his Brother in Law *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* 16000 l. for which, although afterward before his death he ſetled 2000 l. a year upon him; yet he having injoyed the ſaid Money for many years without paying any uſe for it, it might have been improved to my Lord's better advantage, had it been in his Fathers own hands, he being a Perſon of great prudence

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in managing his Eſtate; and though the ſaid Earl of *Shrewsbury* made my Lord his Executor, yet my Lord was ſo far from making any advantage by that Truſt, even in what the Law allowed him, that he loſt 17000l. by it; and afterwards delivered up his Truſt to *William* Earl of *Pembrook*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, who both married two Daughters of the ſaid Earl of *Shrewsbury*; And ſince his return into *England*, upon the deſire of *Henry Howard*, Second Son to the late Earl of *Arundel*, and Heir apparent, (by reaſon of his Eldeſt Brother's Diſtemper) he reſigned his Truſt and Intereſt to him, which certainly is a very difficult buſineſs, and yet queſtionable whether it may lawfully be done, or not? But ſuch was my Lord's Love to the Family of the *Shrewsburies*, that he would rather wrong himſelf, then it.

To mention ſome lawful advantages which my Lord might have made by the ſaid Truſt, it may be noted in the firſt place, That the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Eſtate was Let in long Leaſes, which, by the Law, fell to the Executor. Next, that after ſome Debts and Legacies were paid out of thoſe Lands, which were ſet out for that purpoſe, they were ſetled ſo, that they fell to my Lord. Thirdly, Seven hundred pounds a year was left as a Gift to my Lord's Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, in caſe the Counteſs of *Kent*, Second Daughter to the ſaid Earl of *Shrewsbury*, had no Chil-

About the time when His late Majeſty undertook the expedition into *Scotland* for the ſuppreſſing of ſome inſurrection that happened there; My Lord, as afore is mentioned, amongſt the reſt, lent His Majeſty 10000 l. *ſterling*; But having newly married a Daughter to the then Lord *Brackly*, now Earl of *Bridgwater*, whoſe portion was 12000 l. the moiety whereof was paid in Gold on the day of her marriage, and the reſt ſoon after (although ſhe was too young to be bedded.) This, together with ſome other expences, cauſed him to take up the ſaid 10000 l. at Intereſt, the Uſe whereof he paid many years after.

Alſo when after his ſixteen years Baniſhment, he returned into *England*, before he knew what Eſtate was left him, and was able to receive any Rents of his own, he was neceſſitated to take 5000 l. upon Uſe for the maintenance of himſelf and his Family; whereof the now Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Couſin German, once removed, lent him 1000 l. for which and the former 1000 l. mentioned heretofore, he never deſired nor received any Uſe from my Lord, which I mention, to declare the favour and bounty of that Noble Lord.

But though it is impoſſible to render an exact account of all the loſſes which My Lord has ſuſtained by the ſaid Wars, yet as far as they are accountable, I ſhall endeavour to repreſent them in theſe following Particulars:

In the firſt place, I ſhall give you a juſt particular of My Lords Eſtate in Lands, as it was before the Wars, partly according to the value of his own Surveighers, and partly according to the rate it is let, at this preſent.

Next, I ſhall accompt the Woods cut down by the Rebellious Party, in ſeveral places of My Lords Eſtate.

Thirdly, I ſhall compute the Value of thoſe Lands which My Lord hath loſt, both in preſent poſſeſſion, and in reverſion; that is to ſay, thoſe which he has loſt altogether, both for himſelf, and his Poſterity; and thoſe he has recovered onely during the time of his life, and which his onely Son and Heir, the now Earl of *Ogle*, muſt loſe after his Fathers deceaſe.

Fourthly, I ſhall make mention, how much of Land my Lord hath been forced to ſell for the payment of ſome of his Debts, contracted during the time of the late Civil Wars, and when his Eſtate was ſequeſtred; I ſay ſome, for there are a great many to pay yet.

To which I ſhall, Fifthly, add the Compoſition of his Brothers Eſtate; and the loſs of it for Eight years.

A Par-

A Particular of My Lords Eſtate in plain Rents, as it was partly ſurveighed in the Year 1641, and partly is let at this preſent.

Nottingham-ſhire.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
The Mannor of *Welbeck*	0600	00	00			
The Mannor of *Norton*, *Carbarton*, and the *Granges*	0454	19	01			
Warkſopp	0051	06	08			
The Mannor-houſe of *Soakholm*	0308	10	03			
The Manor of *Clipſton* & *Edwinſtow*	0334	09	08			
Drayton	0008	16	06			
Dunham	0099	17	08			
Sutton	0185	00	05	6229	07	11
The Mannor of *Kirby*, &c.	1075	07	02			
The Mannor of *Cotham*	0833	18	08			
The Mannor of *Sitthorp*	0704	01	00			
Carcholſton	0450	03	00			
Hauksworth, &c.	0139	04	02			
Flawborough	0512	11	08			
Mearing and *Holm*-Meadow	0471	02	00			

Lincoln-ſhire. 6229 7 11

Wellinger and *Ingham* Meales	0100	00	00			

Derby-ſhire.

The Barrony of *Bolſover* and *Woodthorp*	0846	08	11			
The Mannor of *Cheſterfield*	0378	00	00			
The Mannor of *Barlow*	0796	17	06			
Tiſſington	0159	11	00			
Dronfield	0486	15	10			
The Mannor of *Brampton*	0142	04	08			
Little-*Longſton*	0087	02	00			
The Mannor of *Stoak*	0212	03	00			
Birth-Hall, and *Peak*-Forreſt	0131	08	00			
The Mannor of *Gringlow*	0156	08	00	6128	11	10
The Mannor of *Hucklow*	0162	10	08			
The Mannor of *Blackwall*	0306	09	04			
Buxton and *Tids*-Hall	0153	02	00			
Mansfield-Park	0100	00	00			
Mappleton and *Thorp*	0207	05	00			
The Mannor of *Windly*-Hill	0238	18	00			
The Mannor of *Litchurch* and *Markworth*-*Church* and *Meynel Langly* Mannor	0713	15	01			
	0850	01	00			

Stafford-ſhire.

Stafford-ſhire.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
The Mannor of *Bloar* with *Caulton*	0573	13	04			
The Mannor of *Grindon*, *Cauldon*, with *Waterfull*	0822	03	00	2349	17	04
The Mannor of *Cheadle* with *Kinſly*	0259	18	00			
The Mannor of *Barleſton*, &c.	0694	03	09			

2329 17 04

Gloceſter-ſhire.

The Manor of *Tormorton* with *Litleton*	1193	16	00	1581	19	02
The Mannor of *Acton Turvil*	0388	03	02			

1581 19 2

Summerſet-ſhire.

The Mannor of *Cheipſtoak*	0816	15	06	1303	13	10
Knighton Sutton	0300	14	04			
Stroud and *Kingſham*-Park	0186	04	00			

1303 13 10

York-ſhire.

The Manors of *Slingsby*, *Hoverngham* and *Friton*, *Northinges* and *Pomfret*				1700	00	00

Northumberland.

The Barrony of *Bothal*, *Ogle* and *Hepple*, &c.				3000	00	00
			Totall	22393	10	01

That this Particular of My Lords Eſtate was no leſs then is mentioned, may partly appear by the rate, as it was ſurveighed, and ſold by the Rebellious Parliament; for they raiſed, towards the later end of their power, which was in the year 1652, out of my Lords Eſtate, the ſumme of 111593 l. 10 s. 11 d. at five years and a half Purchaſe, which was at above the rate of 18000 l. a year, beſides Woods; and his Brother

ther Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*'s Eſtate, which Eſtate was 2000 l. a year, which falls not much ſhort of the mentioned account; and certainly, had they not ſold ſuch Lands at eaſie rates, few would have bought them, by reaſon the Purchaſers were uncertain how long they ſhould enjoy their purchaſe: Beſides, Under-Officers do not uſually refuſe Bribes; and it is well known that the Surveighers did under-rate Eſtates according as they were feed by the Purchaſers.

Again, many of the Eſtates of baniſhed Perſons were given to Soldiers for the payment of their Arrears, who again ſold them to others which would buy them at eaſier rates. But chiefly, it appears by the rate as my Lords Eſtate is let at preſent, there being ſeveral of the mentioned Lands that are let at a higher rate now then they were ſurveighed; nor are they all valued in the mentioned particular according to the ſurveigh, but many of them which were not ſurveighed, are accounted according to the rate they are let at at this preſent.

The Loſs of my Lords Eſtate, in plain Rents, as alſo upon ordinary Uſe, and Uſe upon Uſe, is as followeth:

The Annual Rent of My Lords Lands, *viz.* 22393 l. 10 s. 1 d. being loſt for the ſpace of 18 years, which was the time of his acting in the Wars, and of his Baniſhment, without any benefit to him, reckoned without any Intereſt, amounts to 403083 l.

But being accounted with the ordinary Uſe at Six in the Hundred, and Uſe upon Uſe for the mentioned ſpace of 18 Years, it amounts to 733579 l.

But ſome perhaps will ſay, That if My Lord had enjoyed his Eſtate, he would have ſpent it, at leaſt ſo much as to maintain himſelf according to his degree and quality.

I anſwer; That it is very improbable My Lord ſhould have ſpent all his Eſtate, if he had enjoyed it, he being a man of great Wiſdom and Prudence, knowing well how to ſpend, and how to manage; for though he lived nobly before the time of the Wars, yet not beyond the Compaſs of his Eſtate; nay, ſo far he would have been from ſpending his Eſtate, that no doubt but he would have increaſt it to a vaſt value, as he did before the Wars; where notwithſtanding his Hoſpitality and noble Houſe-keeping, his charges of Building came to about 31000 l; the portion of his ſecond Daughter, which was 12000 l; the noble entertainments he gave King *Charles* the Firſt, one whereof came to almoſt 15000 l. another to above 4000 l, and a third to 1700 l. as hereafter ſhall be mentioned; and his great expences during the time of his being Governour to His Majeſty that now is, he yet encreaſed his Eſtate to the value of 100000 l, which is 5000 *per annum*, when it was by ſo much leſs.

But if any one will reckon the charges of his Houſe-keeping during the time of his Exile, and when he had

had not the enjoyment of his Eſtate, he may ſubſtract the ſum accounted for the payment of his debts, contracted in the time of his Baniſhment, which went to the maintenance of himſelf and his Family; or in lieu thereof, conſidering that I do not account all My Lords loſſes, but onely thoſe that are certainly known, he may compare it with the loſs of his perſonal Eſtate, whereof I ſhall make ſome mention anon, and he'll find that I do not heighten my Lords Loſſes, but rather diminiſh them; for ſurely the loſſes of his perſonal Eſtate, and thoſe I account not, will counterballance the charges of his Houſe-keeping, if not exceed them.

Again, others will ſay, That there was much Land ſold in the time of My Lords Baniſhment by his Sons, and Feoffees in Truſt.

I anſwer, Firſt, That whatſoever was ſold, was firſt bought of the Rebellious Power: Next, although they ſold ſome Lands, yet My Lord knew nothing of it, neither did he receive a penny worth for himſelf, neither of what they purchaſed, nor ſold, all the time of his Baniſhment till his return.

And thus much of the loſs of My Lords Eſtate in Rents: Concerning the loſs of his Parks and Woods, as much as is generally known, (for I do not reckon particular Trees cut down in ſeveral of his Woods yet ſtanding) 'tis as follows:

1. *Clipſton-*

1. *Clipſton*-Park and Woods cut down to the value of 20000 l.

2. *Kirkby*-Woods, for which my Lord was formerly proferr'd 10000 l.

3. Woods cut down in *Derbyſhire* 8000 l.

4. *Red-lodg*-Wood, *Rome*-wood and others near *Welbeck* 4000 l.

5. Woods cut down in *Stafford*-ſhire 1000 l.

6. Woods cut down in *York*-ſhire 1000 l.

7. Woods cut down in *Northumberland* 1500 l.

The *Total* 45000 l.

The Lands which My Lord hath loſt in preſent poſſeſſion are 2015 l. *per annum*, which at 20 years purchaſe come to 40300 l. and thoſe which he hath loſt in Reverſion, are 3214 l. *per annum*, which at 16 years purchaſe amount to the value of 51424 l.

The Lands which my Lord ſince his return has ſold for the payment of ſome of his debts, occaſioned by the Wars (for I do not reckon thoſe he ſold to buy others) come to the value of 56000 l. to which out of his yearly revenue he has added 10000 l. more, which is in all 66000 l.

Laſtly, The Compoſition of his Brothers Eſtate was 5000 l. and the loſs of it for eight years comes to 16000 l.

All which, if ſumm'd up together, amounts to 941303 l.

Theſe

Theſe are the accountable loſſes, which My Dear Lord and Husband has ſuffered by the late Civil Wars, and his Loyalty to his King and Country. Concerning the loſs of his perſonal Eſtate, ſince (as I often mentioned) it cannot be exactly known; I ſhall not endeavour to ſet down the Particulars thereof, onely in General give you a Note of what partly they are:

1. The pulling down of ſeveral of his dwelling or Mannor-houſes.

2. The diſfurniſhing of them, of which the Furniture at *Bolſover* and *Welbeck* was very noble and rich: Out of his *London*-houſe at *Clarken-well*, there were taken, amongſt other Goods, ſuits of Linnen, *viz.* Table-Cloths, Sideboard-cloths, Napkins, *&c.* whereof one ſuit coſt 160 l. they being bought for an Entertainment which My Lord made for Their Majeſties, King *Charles* the Firſt, and the Queen, at *Bolſover*-Caſtle; And of 150 Suits of Hangings of all ſorts in all his Houſes, there were not above 10 or 12 ſaved.

Of Silver-plate, My Lord had ſo much as came to the value of 3800 l. beſides ſeveral Curioſities of Cabinets, Cups, and other things, which after My Lord was gone out of *England*, were taken out of his Mannor-houſe, *Welbeck*, by a Gariſon of the Kings Party that lay therein, whereof he recovered onely 1100 l. which Money was ſent him beyond the Seas, the reſt was loſt.

As for Pewter, Braſs, Bedding, Linnen, and other Houſhold-ſtuff, there was nothing elſe left but ſome few old Feather-beds, and thoſe all ſpoiled, and fit for no uſe.

3. My Lord's Stock of Corn, Cattel, &c. was very great before the Warrs, by reaſon of the largeneſs and capacity of thoſe grounds, and the great number of Granges he kept for his own uſe; as for example, *Barlow*, *Carkholſton*, *Gleadthorp*, *Welbeck*, and ſeveral more, which were all well manured and ſtockt. But all this ſtock was loſt, beſides his Race of Horſes in his Grounds, Grange-Horſes, Hackny-Horſes, Mannage-Horſes, Coach-Horſes, and others he kept for his uſe.

To theſe Loſſes I may well and juſtly join the charges which my Lord hath been put to ſince his return into *England*, by reaſon they were cauſed by the ruines of the ſaid Warrs; whereof I reckon,

1. His Law-ſuits, which have been very chargeable to him, more then advantagious.

2. The Stocking, Manuring, Paling, Stubbing, Hedging, &c. of his Grounds and Parks; where it is to be noted, That no advantage or benefit can be made of Grounds, under the ſpace of three years, and of Cattel not under five or ſix.

3. The repairing and furniſhing of ſome of his Dwelling-Houſes.

4. The

4. The ſetting up a Race or Breed of Horſes, as he had before the Warrs; for which purpoſe he hath bought the beſt Mares he could get for money.

In ſhort, I can reckon 12000 l. laid out barely for the repair of ſome Ruines, which my Lord could not be without; there being many of them to repair yet; neither is this all that is laid out, but much more which I cannot well remember; nor is there more but one Grange ſtock'd, amongſt ſeveral that were kept for furniſhing his Houſe with Proviſions: As for other Charges and Loſſes, which My Lord hath ſuſtained ſince his return, I will not reckon them, becauſe my deſign is onely to account ſuch loſſes as were cauſed by the Wars.

By which, as they have been mentioned, it may eaſily be concluded, That although My Lord's Eſtate was very great before the Wars, yet now it is ſhrunk into a very narrow compaſs, that it puts his Prudence and Wiſdom to the Proof, to make it ſerve his neceſſities, he having no other aſſiſtance to bear him up; and yet notwithſtanding all this, he hath ſince his return paid both for Himſelf and his Son, all manner of Taxes, Lones, Levies, Aſſeſſments, *&c.* equally with the reſt of His Majeſties Subjects, according to that Eſtate that is left him, which he has been forced to take upon Intereſt.

THE

The Third Book.

THus having given you a faithful Account of all My Lords Actions, both before, in, and after the Civil Warrs, and of his Losses; I shall now conclude with some particular heads concerning the description of his own Person, his Natural Humour, Disposition, Qualities, Vertues; his Pedigree, Habit, Diet, Exercises, *&c.* together with some other Remarks and Particulars which I thought requisite to be inserted, both to illustrate the former Books, and to render the History of his Life more perfect and compleat.

1. *Of his Power.*

After His Majesty King *Charles* the First, had entrusted my Lord with the Power of raising Forces for His Majesties Service, he effected that which never any Subject did, nor was (in all probability) able to do; for though many Great and Noble Persons did also raise Forces for His Majesty, yet they were Brigades, rather then well-formed Armies; in comparison to my Lord's. The reason was, That my Lord, by his Mother, the Daughter of *Cuthbert*

Lord

Lord *Ogle*, being allyed to moſt of the moſt ancient Families in *Northumberland*, and other the Northern parts, could pretend a greater Intereſt in them, then a ſtranger; for they through a natural affection to my Lord as their own Kinſman, would ſooner follow him, and under his Conduct ſacrifice their Lives for His Majeſty's Service, then any body elſe, well knowing, That by deſerting my Lord, they deſerted themſelves; and by this means my Lord raiſed firſt a Troup of Horſe conſiſting of a hundred and twenty, and a Regiment of Foot; and then an Army of Eight thouſand Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, in thoſe parts; and afterwards upon this ground, at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral places, ſo many ſeveral Troups, Regiments and Armies, that in all from the firſt to the laſt, they amounted to above 100000 men, and thoſe moſt upon his own Intereſt, and without any other conſiderable help or aſſiſtance; which was much for a particular Subject, and in ſuch a conjuncture of time; for ſince Armies are ſooneſt raiſed by Covetouſneſs, Fear aud Faction; that is to ſay, upon a conſtant and ſetled Pay, upon the Ground of Terrour, and upon the Ground of Rebellion; but very ſeldom or never upon uncertainty of Pay; and when it is as hazardous to be of ſuch a Party, as to be in the heat of a Battel; alſo when there is no other deſign but honeſt duty; it may eaſily be conceived that my Lord could have no little love and affection when

He raiſed his Army upon ſuch grounds as could promiſe them but little advantage at that time.

Amongſt the reſt of his Army, My Lord had choſen for his own Regiment of Foot, 3000 of ſuch Valiant, ſtout and faithful men, (whereof many were bred in the Mooriſh-grounds of the Northern parts) that they were ready to die at my Lord's feet, and never gave over, whenſoever they were engaged in action, until they had either conquer'd the Enemy, or loſt their lives. They were called White-coats, for this following reaſon: My Lord being reſolved to give them new Liveries, and there being not red Cloth enough to be had, took up ſo much of white as would ſerve to cloath them, deſiring withal, their patience until he had got it dyed; but they impatient of ſtay, requeſted my Lord, that he would be pleaſed to let them have it un-dyed as it was, promiſing they themſelves would die it in the Enemies Blood: Which requeſt my Lord granted them, and from that time they were called White-Coats.

To give you ſome inſtances of their Valour and Courage, I muſt beg leave to repeat ſome paſſages mentioned in the firſt Book. The Enemy having cloſely beſieged the City of *York*, and made a paſſage into the Mannor-yard, by ſpringing a Mine under the Wall thereof, was got into the Mannor-houſe with a great number of their Forces; which My Lord perceiving, he immediately went and drew 80 of the

ſaid

ſaid White-coats thither, who with the greateſt Courage went cloſe up to the Enemy, and having charged them, fell Pell-mell with the But-ends of their Muſquets upon them, and with the aſſiſtance of the reſt that renewed their Courage by their example, kill'd and took 1500, and by that means ſaved the Town.

How valiantly they behaved themſelves in the laſt fatal Battel upon *Heſſom-moor* near *York*, has been alſo declared heretofore; in ſo much, that although moſt of the Army were fled, yet they would not ſtir, until by the Enemies Power they were overcome, and moſt of them ſlain in rank and file.

Their love and affection to my Lord was ſuch, that it laſted even when he was deprived of all his power, and could do them little good; to which purpoſe I ſhall mention this following paſſage:

My Lord being in *Antwerp*, received a Viſit from a Gentleman, who came out of *England*, and rendred My Lord thanks for his ſafe Eſcape at Sea; My Lord being in amaze, not knowing what the Gentleman meant, he was pleaſed to acquaint Him, that in his coming over Sea out of *England*, he was ſet upon by Pickaroons, who having examined him, and the reſt of his Company, at laſt ſome asked him, whether he knew the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*? To whom he anſwered, That he knew him very well, and was going over into the ſame City where my Lord lived. Whereupon they did not onely take nothing from him,

him, but uſed him with all Civility, and deſired him to remember their humble duty to their Lord General, for they were ſome of his White-Coats that had eſcaped death; and if my Lord had any ſervice for them, they were ready to aſſiſt him upon what Deſigns ſoever, and to obey him in whatſoever he ſhould be pleaſed to Command them.

This I mention for the Eternal Fame and Memory of thoſe Valiant and Faithful Men. But to return to the *Power* my Lord had in the late Warrs: As he was the Head of his own Army, and had raiſed it moſt upon his own Intereſt for the Service of His Majeſty; ſo he was never Ordered by His Majeſty's Privy Council, (except that ſome Forces of His were kept by His late Majeſty, (which he ſent to Him) together with ſome Arms and Ammunition heretofore mentioned) until His Highneſs Prince *Rupert* came from His Majeſty, to join with him at the Siege of *York*. He had moreover the Power of Coyning, Printing, Knighting, *&c.* which never any Subject had before, when His Soveraign Himſelf was in the Kingdom; as alſo the Command of ſo many Counties, as is mentioned in the Firſt Book, and the Power of placing and diſplacing what Governours and Commanders he pleaſed, and of conſtituting what Gariſons he thought fit; of the chief whereof I ſhall give you this following liſt.

A Par-

A Particular of the Principal Garisons, and the Governors of them, constituted by my Lord.

In Northumberland.

Newcastle upon *Tyne*, Sir *John Marley* Knight.
Tynmouth-Castle and *Sheilds*, Sir *Thomas Riddal*, Knight.

In the Bishoprick of Durham.

Hartlepool, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lambton.*
Raby-Castle, Sir *William Savile*, Knight and Baronet.

In Yorkshire.

The City of *York*, Sir *Thomas Glenham* Knight and Baronet; and afterwards when he took the Field, the Lord *Jo. Bellasyse.*
Pomfret-Castle, Colonel *Mynn*, and after him Sir *Jo. Redman.*
Sheffield-Castle, Major *Beamont.*
Wortly-Hall, Sir *Francis Wortley.*
Tickhill-Castle, Major *Mountney.*
Doncaster, Sir *Francis Fane*, Knight of the Bath, afterwards Governour of *Lincoln.*
Sandal-Castle, Captain *Bonivant.*

Skipton-Caſtle, Sir *John Mallary*, Baronet.
Bolton-Caſtle, Mr. *Scroope*.
Hemſley-Caſtle, Sir *Jordan Croſland*.
Scarborough-Caſtle and Town, Sir *Hugh Chomley*.
Stamford-Bridg, Colonel *Galbreth*.
Halliſax, Sir *Francis Mackworth*.
Tadcaſter, Sir *Gamaliel Dudley*.
Eyrmouth, Major *Kaughton*.

In Cumberland.

The City of *Carliſle*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Knight and Baronet.
Cockermouth, Colonel *Kirby*.

In Nottinghamſhire.

Newark upon *Trent*, Sir *John Henderſon*, Knight; and afterwards, Sir *Richard Byron*, Knight, now Lord *Byron*.
Wyrton-Houſe, Colonel *Rowland Hacker*.
Welbeck, Colonel *Van Peire*; and after, Colonel *Beeton*.
Shelford-Houſe, Col. *Philip Stanhop*.

In Lincolnſhire.

The City of *Lincoln*, firſt Sir *Francis Fane*, Knight of the Bath; ſecondly, Sir *Peregrine Bartu.*
Gainsborough, Colonel St. *George.*
Bullingbrook-Caſtle, Lieutenant Colonel *Cheſter.*
Belvoir-Caſtle, Sir *Gervas Lucas.*

In Derbyſhire.

Bolſover-Caſtle, Colonel *Muſchamp.*
Wingfield Mannor, Colonel *Roger Molyneux.*
Staly-Houſe, the now Lord *Fretchwile.*

A LIST *of the General* OFFICERS *of the* ARMY.

1. THE Lord General, the now Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Noble Subject of this Book.
2. The Lieutenant General of the Army; firſt the Earl of *Newport*, afterwards the Lord *Eythin.*
3. The General of the Ordnance, *Charles* Viſcount *Mansfield.*
4. The General of the Horſe, *George* Lord *Goring.*
5. The

5. The Colonel General of the Army, Sir *Thomas Glenham.*

6. The Major General of the Army, Sir *Francis Mackworth.*

7. The Lieutenant General of the Horſe, Firſt Mr. *Charles Cavendiſh*, after him Sir *Charles Lucas.*

8. Commiſſary General of Horſe, Firſt Colonel *Windham*, after him Sir *William Throckmorton*, and after him Mr. *George Porter.*

9. Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, Sir *William Davenant.*

10. Treaſurer of the Army, Sir *William Carnaby.*

11. Advocate-General of the Army, Dr. *Liddal.*

12. Quarter-Maſter General of the Army, Mr. *Ralph Errington.*

13. Providore-General of the Army, Mr. *Gervas Nevil*, and after Mr. *Smith.*

14. Scout-Maſter-General of the Army, Mr. *Hudſon.*

15. Waggon-Maſter-General of the Army, *Baptiſt Johnſon.*

William

William Lord *Widdrington* was Preſident of the Council of War, and Commander in chief of the three Counties of *Lincoln*, *Rutland* and *Nottingham*, and the forces there.

When my Lord marched with his Army to *Newcaſtle* againſt the *Scots*, then the Lord *John Bellaſſis* was conſtituted Governour of *York*, and Commander in Chief, or Lieutenant General of *York-ſhire*.

As for the reſt of the Officers and Commanders of every particular Regiment and Company, they being too numerous, cannot well be remembred, and therefore I ſhall give you no particular accompt of them.

2. *Of His Misfortunes and obſtructions.*

ALthough Nature had favour'd My Lord, and endued him with the beſt Qualities and Perfections ſhe could inſpire into his ſoul; yet Fortune hath ever been ſuch an inveterate Enemy to him, that ſhe invented all the ſpight and malice againſt him that lay in her power; and notwithſtanding his prudent Counſels and Deſigns, caſt ſuch obſtructions in his way, that he ſeldom proved ſucceſsful, but where he acted in Perſon. And ſince I am not ignorant that this unjuſt and

partial Age is apt to suppress the worth of meritorious persons, and that many will endeavour to obscure my Lords noble Actions and Fame, by casting unjust aspersions upon him, and laying (either out of ignorance or malice) Fortunes envy to his charge, I have purposed to represent these obstructions which conspired to render his good intentions and endeavours ineffectual, and at last did work his ruine and destruction, in these following particulars.

1. At the time when the Kingdom became so infatuated, as to oppose and pull down their Gracious King and Soveraign, the Treasury was exhausted, and no sufficient means to raise and maintain Armies to reduce his Majesties Rebellious Subjects; so that My Lord had little to begin withal but what his own Estate would allow, and his Interest procure him.

2. When his late Majesty, in the beginning of the unhappy Wars, sent My Lord to *Hull*, the strongest place in the Kingdom, where the Magazine of Arms and Ammunition was kept, and he by his prudence had gained it to his Majesties service; My Lord was left to the mercy of the Parliament, where he had surely suffered for it, (though he acted not without His Majesties Commission) if some of the contrary party had not quitted him, in hopes to gain him on their side.

3. After

3. After His Majeſty had ſent My Lord to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, to take upon him the Government of that place, and he had raiſed there, of Friends and Tenants, a troup of Horſe and Regiment of Foot, which he ordered to conveigh ſome Arms and Ammunition to His Majeſty, ſent by the Queen out of *Holland*; His Majeſty was pleaſed to keep the ſame Convoy with him to encreaſe his own Forces, which although it was but of a ſmall number, yet at that preſent time it would have been very ſerviceable to my Lord, he having then but begun to raiſe Forces.

4. When Her Majeſty the now Queen-Mother, after her arrival out of *Holland* to *York*, had a purpoſe to conveigh ſome Armes to His Majeſty, My Lord order'd a Party of 1500 to conduct the ſame, which His Majeſty was pleaſed to keep with him for his own ſervice.

5. After Her Majeſty had taken a reſolution to go from *York* to *Oxford*, where the King then was; my Lord for Her ſafer conduct quitted 7000 men of his Army, with a convenient Train of Artillery, which likewiſe never returned to my Lord.

6. When the Earl of *Montroſs* was going into *Scotland*, he went to my Lord at *Durham*, and deſired of him a ſupply of ſome Forces for His *Majeſties* ſervice; where my Lord gave him 200 Horſe and Dragoons, even at ſuch a time when he ſtood moſt in need of a ſupply himſelf, and thought every day to encounter the *Scottiſh* Army.

7. When my Lord out of the Northern parts went into *Lincoln-* and *Derby-ſhires* with his Army, to order and reduce them to their Allegiance and Duty to His Majeſty, and from thence reſolved to march into the Aſſociate Counties, (where in all probability he would have made an happy end of the Warr) he was ſo importuned by thoſe he left behind him, and particularly the Commander in Chief, to return into *York-ſhire*, alledging the Enemy grew ſtrong, and would ruine them all, if he came not ſpeedily to ſuccour and aſſiſt them; that in honour and duty he could do no otherwiſe but grant their Requeſts; when as yet being returned into thoſe parts, he found them ſecure and ſafe enough from the Enemies Attempts.

8. My Lord (as heretofore mentioned) had as great private Enemies about His Majeſty, as he had publick Enemies in the Field, who uſed all the endeavour they could to pull him down.

9. There was ſuch Jugling, Treachery, and Falſhood in his own Army, and amongſt ſome of his own Officers, that it was impoſſible for my Lord to be proſperous and ſucceſsful in his Deſigns and Undertakings.

10. My Lord's Army being the chief and greateſt Army which His Majeſty had, and in which conſiſted His prime Strength and Power; the Parliament reſolved at laſt, to join all their Forces with the Army

of

of the *Scots*, (which when it came out of *Scotland*, was above Twenty thouſand Men) to oppoſe, and if poſſible, to ruine it; well knowing, that if they did pull down my Lord, they ſhould be Maſters of all the Three Kingdoms; ſo that there were Three Armies againſt One. But although my Lord ſuffered much by the Negligence (and ſometimes Treachery) of his Officers, and was unfortunately called back into *York-ſhire*, from his March he deſigned for the Aſſociate Counties, and was forced to part with a great number of his Forces and Ammunition, as aforementioned; yet he would hardly have been overcome, and his Army ruined by the Enemy, had he but had ſome timely ſupply and aſſiſtance at the Siege of *York*, or that his Counſel had been taken in not fighting the Enemy then, or that the Battel had been differ'd ſome two or three dayes longer, until thoſe Forces were arrived which he expected, namely three thouſand men out of *Northumberland*, and Two thouſand drawn out of ſeveral Gariſons. But the chief Misfortune was, That the Enemy fell upon the Kings Forces before they were all put into a *Battallia*, and took them at their great diſadvantage; which cauſed ſuch a Panick fear amongſt them, that moſt of the Horſe of the right Wing of His Majeſty's Forces, betook themſelves to their heels; inſomuch, that although the left Wing (commanded by the Lord *Goring*, and my Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*) did their beſt endeavour, and

beat

beat back the Enemy three times, and My Lord's own Regiment of Foot charged them ſo couragiouſly, that they never broke, but died moſt of them in their Ranks and Files; yet the Power of the Enemy being too ſtrong, put them at laſt to a total rout and confuſion. Which unlucky diſaſter put an end to all future hopes of His Majeſties Party; ſo that my Lord ſeeing he had nothing left in his Power to do His Majeſty any further ſervice in that kind (for had he ſtayed, he would have been forced to ſurrender all thoſe Towns and Gariſons in thoſe parts, that were yet in His Majeſties Devotion, as afterwards it alſo happen'd) reſolved to quit the Kingdom, as formerly is mentioned.

And theſe are chiefly the obſtructions to the good ſucceſs of my Lord's Deſigns in the late Civil Wars; which being rightly conſidered, will ſave him blameleſs from what otherwiſe would be laid to his charge; for, as according to the old ſaying, *'Tis eaſie for men to ſwim, when they are held up by the chin*: So on the other ſide, it is very dangerous and difficult for them to endeavour it, when they are pulled down by the Heels, and beaten upon their Heads.

3. *Of His Loyalty and Sufferings.*

I dare boldly and juſtly ſay, That there never was, nor is a more Loyal and Faithful Subject then My Lord:

Lord: Not to mention the Truſt he diſcharged in all thoſe imployments, which either King *James*, or King *Charles* the Firſt, or His now Gracious Maſter King *Charles* the Second, were pleaſed to beſtow upon him, which he performed with ſuch care and fidelity, that he never diſobeyed their Commands in the leaſt; I will onely note,

1. That he was the Firſt that appear'd in Armes for His Majeſty, and engaged Himſelf and all his Friends he could for His Majeſties Service; and though he had but two Sons which were young, and one onely Brother, yet they all were with him in the Wars: His two Sons had Commands, but His Brother, though he had no Command, by reaſon of the weakneſs of his body, yet he was never from My Lord when he was in action, even to the laſt; for he was the laſt with my Lord in the Field in that fatal Battel upon *Heſſom-moor*, near *York*; and though my Brother, Sir *Charles Lucas*, deſired my Lord to ſend his Sons away, when the ſaid Battel was fought, yet he would not, ſaying, His Sons ſhould ſhew their Loyalty and Duty to His Majeſty, in venturing their lives, as well as Himſelf.

2. My Lord was the chief and onely Perſon, that kept up the Power of His late Majeſty; for when his Army was loſt, all the Kings Party was ruined in all three of his Majeſties Kingdoms; becauſe in his Army lay the chief ſtrength of all the Royal Forces;

it being the greateſt and beſt formed Army which His Majeſty had, and the onely ſupport both of his Majeſties Perſon and Power, and of the hopes of all his Loyal Subjects in all his Dominions.

3. My Lord was 16 Years in Baniſhment, and hath loſt and ſuffered moſt of any ſubject, that ſuffer'd either by War, or otherways, except thoſe that loſt their lives, and even that he valued not, but expoſed it to ſo eminent dangers that nothing but Heavens Decree had ordained to ſave it.

4. He never minded his own Intereſt more then his Loyaltie and Duty, and upon that account never deſired nor received any thing from the Crown to enrich himſelf, but ſpent great ſums in His Majeſties Service; ſo that after his long baniſhment and return into *England*, I obſerved his ruined Eſtate was like an Earthquake, and his Debts like Thunder-bolts, by which he was in danger of being utterly undone, had not Patience and Prudence, together with Heavens Bleſſings, ſaved him from that threatning Ruine.

5. He never repined at his Loſſes and Sufferings, becauſe he loſt and ſuffered for his King and Countrey; nay, ſo far was he from that, that I have heard him ſay, If the ſame Warrs ſhould happen again, and he was ſure to loſe both his life, and all he had left him, yet he would moſt willingly ſacrifice it for His Majeſties Service.

6. He

6. He never connived or conſpired with the Enemy, neither directly nor indirectly; for though ſome Perſon of Quality being ſent in the late Wars to him into the North, from His late Majeſty, who was then at *Oxford*, with ſome Meſſage, did withal in private acquaint him, that ſome of the Nobility that were with the King, deſired him to ſide with them againſt His Majeſty, alledging that if His Majeſty ſhould become an abſolute Conqueror, both himſelf and the reſt of the Nobility would loſe all their Rights and Priviledges; yet he was ſo far from conſenting to it, that he returned him this anſwer, namely, That he entred into actions of War, for no other end, but for the ſervice of His King and Maſter, and to keep up His Majeſties Rights and Prerogatives, for which he was reſolved to venture both his Life, Poſterity and Eſtate; for certainly, ſaid he, the Nobility cannot fall if the King be Victorious, nor can they keep up their Dignities, if the King be overcome.

This Meſſage was delivered by word of mouth, but none of their names mentioned; ſo that it is not certainly known whether it was a real truth or not; more probable it was, that they intended to ſound my Lord, or to make, if poſſible, more diviſion; for certainly not all that pretended to be for the King, were His Friends; and I my ſelf remember very well, when I was with Her Hajeſty, the now Queen-Mother, in *Oxford*, (although I was too young to perceive their intrigues,

intrigues, yet I was old enough to obſerve) that there were great Factions both amongſt the Courtiers and Soldiers. But my Lords Loyalty was ſuch, that he kept always faithful and true to His Majeſty, and could by no means be brought to ſide with the Rebellious Party, or to juggle and mind his own Intereſt more then his Majeſties Service; and this was the cauſe that he had as great private Enemies at Court, as he had publick Enemies in the Field, who ſought as much his ruine and deſtruction privately, and would caſt aſperſions upon his Loyalty and Duty, as theſe did publickly oppoſe him.

In ſhort, that it may appear the better what loyal and faithful ſervices my Lord has done both for His late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and His now Gracious Maſter King *Charles* the Second, I have thought fit to ſubjoin both Their Majeſties Commendations which they were pleaſed to give him, when for his Great and Loyal Services they confer'd upon him the Titles and Dignities of *Marqueſs*, and *Duke of Newcaſtle.*

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for *Marqueſs*, Engliſhed.

Rex &c. Salutem.

WHereas it appears to Us, That William *Earl of* Newcaſtle *upon* Tyne, *beſides his moſt Eminent Birth and ſplendid Alliances, hath equalled all thoſe Titles with which he is adorned by Deſert, and hath alſo wonne them by Virtue, Induſtry, Prudence, and a ſtedfaſt Faith: Whileſt with dangers and expences gathering together Soldiers, Armes, and all other War-like Habiliments; and applying them as well in Our Affairs, as moſt plentifully ſending them to Us, (having fore-thought of Our Dignity and ſecurity) he was ready with Us in all Actions in* York-ſhire, *and governed the Town of* Newcaſtle, *and Caſtle in the mouth of* Tyne, *at the time of that fatal Revolt of the People who were got together; and with a Bond of his Friends did opportunely ſeize that Port, and ſettled it a Gariſon; bringing Armes to Us (then Our onely relief:) In which Service ſo ſtrongly going on, (which was of grand moment to our affairs) We do gratefully remember him ſtill to have ſtood to: Afterwards, having Muſtered together a good Army, (Our ſelf being gone elſe-where) the Rebels now enjoying almoſt all* York-ſhire, *and the chiefeſt Fortreſs of all the Country now appearing to have ſcarce refuge or ſafety for him againſt the ſwelling Rebels, (the*

whole Country then deſiring and praying for his coming, that he might timely relieve them in their deſperate condition) And leading his ſaid Army in the midſt of Winter, gave the Rebels Battel in his paſſage, vanquiſh'd them, and put them to flight, and took from them ſeveral Gariſons, and places of Refuge, and reſtored Health to the Subjects, and by his many Victories, Peace and Security to the Countryes: Witneſs thoſe places, made Noble by the death and flight of the Rebels: in Lincoln-ſhire, Gainsborough *and* Lincoln; *in Derby-ſhire*, Chesterfield; *but in York-ſhire*; Peirce-bridge, Seacroft, Tankerly, Tadcaſter, Sheffield, Rotheram, Yarum, Beverly, Cawood, Selby, Halifax, Leeds, *and above all*, Bradford; *where when the* Yorkſhire-*and* Lancaſhire-*Rebels were united, and Battel joined with them; when Our Army as well by the great numbers of the Rebels, as much more the badneſs of Our ground, was ſo preſt upon, that the Soldiers now ſeemed to think of flying; He, their General, with a full Carier, commanding two Troops to follow him, broke into the very rage of the Battel, and with ſo much violence fell upon the right Wing of thoſe Rebels, That thoſe who were but now certain of Victory, turn'd their backs, and fled from the Conqueror, who by his Wiſdom, Virtue and his own Hand, brought death and flight to the Rebels, Victory and Glory to Himſelf, Plunder to the Soldiery, and 22 great Guns, and many Enſigns to Us. Nor was there before this, wanting to ſo much Virtue, equal Felicity, for Our moſt beloved Conſort, after a diſmal Tempeſt coming*

from

from Holland, *being drove aſhore at* Burlington, *and undergoing a more grievous danger, by the excurſions of the Rebels, then the toſſing and tumbling of the Sea; He having heard of it, ſpeedily goes to Her with his Army, and dutifully receiveth Her, in ſafety brings Her, and with all ſecurity conducts Her to Us at* Oxford. *Whereas therefore the aforeſaid Earl hath raiſed ſo many Monuments of His Virtue and Fidelity towards Us, Our Queen, Children, and Our Kingdom; when alſo he doth at this time eſtabliſh with ſafety, and with His Power defend the Nothern parts of Our Kingdom againſt the Rebels; when laſtly, nothing more concerns Mankind and Princes, and nothing can be more juſt, then that he may receive for his Deeds, a Reward ſuitable to his name, which requires that he who defends the Borders, ſhould be created by Us,* Governour or Marqueſs of the Borderers. *Know therefore, &c.*

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for *DUKE*, Engliſhed.

Rex &c. Salutem.

WHereas Our moſt beloved and faithful Couſin and Counſellor, William *Earl and Marqueſs of* Newcaſtle upon Tyne, &c. *worthy by his famous Name, Blood and Office, of large Honours, has been eminent in ſo many, and ſo great Services performed to Us and Our Father (of ever bleſſed memory) that his Merits are ſtill producing new effects, We have decreed likewiſe to add more Honour to his former. And though theſe his ſuch eminent Actions, which he hath faithfully and valiantly performed to Us, Our Father, and Our Kingdom, ſpeak loud enough in themſelves; yet ſince the valiant Services of a good Subject are always pleaſant to remember, We have thought fit to have them in part related for a good Example and Encouragement to Virtue.*

The great proofs of his Wiſdom and Piety are ſufficiently known to Us from Our younger years, and We ſhall alwayes retain a ſenſe of thoſe good Principles he inſtilled into Us; the Care of Our Youth which he happily undertook for Our good, he as faithfully and well diſcharged. Our years growing up amidſt bad Times, and the harſh Neceſſities of Warr, a new Charge and Care of Loyaltie, the Kingdom

and

and Religion call'd him off to make uſe of his further Diligence and Valour. Rebellion ſpread abroad, he levied Loyal Forces in great numbers, oppoſed the Enemy; won ſo many and ſo great Victories in the Field, took in ſo many Towns, Caſtles and Gariſons, as well in Our Northern parts, as elſewhere; and behaved himſelf with ſo great Courage and Valour in the defending alſo what he had got, eſpecially at the Siege of York, *which he maintain'd againſt three Potent Armies of* Scots *and* Engliſh, *cloſely beleaguering, and with emulation aſſaulting it for three Months (till Relief was brought) to the wonder and envy of the Enemy; that, if Loyal and Humane Force could have prevailed, he had ſoon reſtored Fidelity, Peace and his KING to the Nation, which was then hurrying to Ruine by an unhappy Fate; So that Rebellion getting the upper hand, and no place being left for him to act further valiantly in, for his King and Countrey, he ſtill retain'd the ſame Loyalty and Valour in ſuffering, being an inſeparable Follower of Our Exile; during which ſad Cataſtrophe, his whole Eſtate was ſequeſtred and ſold from him, and his Perſon alwayes one of the firſt of thoſe few who were excepted both for Life and Eſtate (which was offer'd to all others.) Beſides, his Virtues are accompanied with a Noble Blood, being of a Family by each Stock equally adorn'd and endow'd with great Honours and Riches. For which Reaſons We have reſolv'd to grace the ſaid Marqueſs with a new Mark of our Favour, he being every way deſerv-*

ing of it, as one who lov'd vertue equal to his Noble Birth, and poſſeſs'd Patrimonies ſuitable to both, as long as loyalty had any place to ſhew it ſelf in our Realm; which poſſeſſions he ſo well employ'd, and at laſt for Us and Our Fathers ſervice loſt, till he was with Us reſtor'd. Know therefore, &c.

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4. *Of his Prudence and Wiſdom.*

MY Lord's Prudence and Wiſdom hath been ſufficiently apparent both in his Publick and Private Actions and Imployments; for he hath ſuch a Natural Inſpection, and Judicious Obſervation of things, that he ſees beforehand what will come to paſs, and orders his affairs accordingly. To which purpoſe I cannot but mention, that *Laud*, the then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, between whom and my Lord, interceded a great and intire Friendſhip, which he confirmed by a Legacy of a Diamond, to the value of 200 l. left to my Lord when he died, which was much for him to bequeath; for though he was a great Stateſman, and in favour with his late Majeſty, yet he was not covetous to hoard up wealth, but beſtowed it rather upon the Publick, repairing the Cathedral of St. *Pauls* in *London*, which, had God granted him life, he would certainly have beautified, and rendred as famous and glorious as any in Chriſtendom: This ſaid

Arch-Biſhop

Arch-Biſhop was pleaſed to tell His late Majeſty, that my Lord was one of the Wiſeſt and Prudenteſt Perſons that ever he was acquainted with.

For further proof, I cannot paſs by that my Lord told His late Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt, and Her Majeſty the now Queen-Mother, ſome time before the Wars, That he obſerved by the humours of the People, the approaching of a Civil War, and that His Majeſties Perſon would be in danger of being depoſed, if timely care was not taken to prevent it.

Alſo when my Lord was at *Antwerp*, the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, before he went into *Scotland*, gave my Lord a Viſit, and acquainted him with his intended Journey, asking my Lord whether he was not alſo going for *England*? My Lord anſwer'd, He was ready to do His Majeſty what ſervice he could, and would ſhun no opportunity, where he perceived he could effect ſomething to His Majeſties advantage; Nay, ſaid he, if His Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to Command my ſingle Perſon to go againſt the whole Army of the Enemy, although I was ſure to loſe my life, yet out of a Loyal Duty to His Majeſty, and in Obedience to his Commands, I ſhould never refuſe it. But to venture (ſaid he) the life of my Friends, and to betray them in a deſperate action, without any probability of doing the leaſt good to His Majeſty, would be a very unjuſt and unconſcionable act; for my Friends might perhaps venture with me upon an implicite

plicite Faith, that I was ſo honeſt as not to engage them without a firm and ſolid foundation; but I wanting that, as having no Ships, Armes, Ammunition, Proviſion, Forts, and places of Rendezvous, and what is the chief thing, Money; To what purpoſe would it be to draw them into ſo hazardous an Action, but to ſeek their ruine and deſtruction, without the leaſt benefit to His Majeſty? Then the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* asked my Lord's Advice, and what he ſhould do in ſuch a caſe? My Lord anſwer'd, That he knowing beſt his own Countrey, Power and Strength, and what probability he had of Forces, and other Neceſſaries for Warr, when he came into *Scotland*, could give himſelf the beſt advice; but withall told him, That if he had no Proviſion nor Ammunition, Armes and places of Rendezvous for his men to meet and join, he would likely be forced to hide his head, and ſuffer for his raſh undertaking: Which unlucky Fate did alſo accordingly befall that worthy Perſon.

Theſe paſſages I mention to no other end, but to declare my Lord's Judgment and Prudence in worldly Affairs; whereof there are ſo many, that if I ſhould ſet them all down, it would ſwell this Hiſtory to a big Volume. They may in ſome ſort be gather'd from his actions mentioned heretofore, eſpecially the ordering of his affairs in the time of Warr, with ſuch Conduct, Prudence and Wiſdom, that not-

with-

withſtanding at the beginning of his Undertaking that great Truſt and honourable Employment which His late Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him, he ſaw ſo little appearance of performing his Deſigns with good ſucceſs, His Majeſty's Revenues being then much weakned, and the Magazines and publick Purſe, in the Enemies Power, beſides ſeveral other obſtructions and hinderances; yet as he undertook it chearfully, and out of pure Loyalty and Obedience to His Majeſty; ſo he ordered it ſo wiſely, that ſo long as he acted by his own Counſels, and was perſonally preſent at the execution of his Deſigns, he was always proſperous in his Succeſs. And although he had ſo great an Army, as aforementioned, yet by his wiſe and prudent Conduct, there appear'd no viſible ſign of devaſtation in any of the Countreys where he marched; for firſt, he ſetled a conſtant Rule for the Regular levy of money for the convenient Maintenance of the Soldiery. Next, he conſtituted ſuch Officers of his Army, that moſt of them were known to be Gentlemen of large and fair Eſtates, which drew a good part of their private Revenues, to ſerve and ſupport them in their publick Employments; wherein my Lord did lead them the way by his own good Example.

To which may be added his wiſdom in ordering the Government of the Church, for the advancement of the Orthodox Religion, and ſuppreſſion of Factions; as alſo in Coyning, Printing, Knighting, and the like,

which he uſed with great diſcretion and prudence, onely for the Intereſt of His Majeſty, and the benefit of the Kingdom, as formerly has been mentioned.

The Prudent mannage of his private and domeſtick affairs, appears ſufficiently: 1. In his Marriage. 2. In the ordering and increaſing his Eſtate before the Wars, which notwithſtanding his Noble Houſekeeping and Hoſpitality, and his Generous Bounty and Charity, he increaſed to the value of 100000 l. 3. In the ordering his Affairs in the time of Baniſhment, where although he received not the leaſt of his own eſtate, during all the time of his exile, until his return; yet maintained himſelf handſomely and nobly, according to his Quality, as much as his Condition at that time would permit. 4. In reducing his torn and ruined Eſtate after his return, which beyond all probability, himſelf hath ſetled and order'd ſo, that his Poſterity will have reaſon gratefully to remember it.

In ſhort; Although my Lord naturally loves not buſineſs, eſpecially thoſe of State, (though he underſtands them as well as any body) yet what buſineſs or affairs he cannot avoid, none will do them better then himſelf. His private affairs he orders without any noiſe or trouble, not over-haſtily, but wiſely: Neither is he paſſionate in acting of buſineſs, but hears patiently, and orders ſoberly, and pierces into the heart or bottom of a buſineſs at the firſt encounter; but before all things, he conſiders well before he undertakes

a buſineſs, whether he be able to go through it or no, for he never ventures upon either publick or private buſineſs, beyond his ſtrength.

And here I cannot forbear to mention, that my Noble Lord, when he was in baniſhment, preſumed out of his Duty and Love to his Gracious Maſter our now Soveraign King *Charles* the Second, to write and ſend him a little Book, or rather a Letter, wherein he delivered his Opinion concerning the Government of his Dominions, whenſoever God ſhould be pleaſed to reſtore him to his Throne, together with ſome other Notes and Obſervations of Foreign States and Kingdoms; but it being a private offer to His ſacred Majeſty, I dare not preſume to publiſh it.

5. *Of His Bleſſings.*

ALthough my Lord hath been one of the moſt Unfortunate Perſons of his Rank and Quality, which this later age did produce; yet Heaven hath been ſo propitious to him, that it beſtowed ſome bleſſings upon him even in the midſt of his Misfortunes, and ſupported him againſt Fortunes Malice, which otherwiſe, as it ſeems, had deſigned his total ruine and deſtruction: Of theſe Bleſſings I may name in the firſt place,

1. The Royal Favours of His Gracious Soveraign's

raign's, and the good eſteem they had of his Fidelity and Loyalty; which as it was the chief of his endeavours, ſo he eſteemed it above all the reſt. To repeat them particularly would be too tedious, and they are ſufficiently apparent out of the precedent Hiſtory; onely this I may add, that King *Charles* the Firſt, out of a ſingular Favour to my Lord, was pleaſed upon his moſt humble requeſt, to create ſeveral Noble-men; the Names of them, leſt I commit an offence, I ſhall not mention, by reaſon moſt men uſually pretend ſuch claimes upon the Ground of their own Merit.

2. That God was pleaſed to bleſs him with Wealth and Power, to enable him the better for the ſervice of his King and Country.

3. That he made him happy in his Marriage; (for his firſt Wife was a very kind, loving and Virtuous Lady) and bleſs'd him with Dutiful and Obedient Children, free from Vices, Noble and Generous both in ther Natures and Actions; who did all that lay in their power to ſupport and relieve my Lord their Father in his Baniſhment, as before is mentioned.

4. The Kindneſs and Civility which my Lord received from Strangers, and the Inhabitants of thoſe places, where he lived during the time of his Baniſhment; for had it not been for them, he would have periſhed in his extream wants; but it pleaſed God ſo to provide for him, that although he wanted an Eſtate,

yet

yet he wanted not Credit; and although he was baniſhed and forſaken by his own Friends and Countrymen, yet he was civilly received and relieved by ſtrangers, until God bleſs'd him,

Laſtly, With a happy return to his Native Country, his dear Children, and his own Eſtate; which although he found much ruined and broke, yet by his Prudence and Wiſdom, hath order'd as well as he could; and I hope, and pray God to add this bleſſing to all the reſt, That he may live long to encreaſe it for the benefit of his Poſterity.

6. *Of his Honours and Dignities.*

THe Honours, Titles and Dignities which were conferr'd upon my Lord, by King *James*, King *Charles* the Firſt, and King *Charles* the Second, partly as an encouragement for future Service, and a Reward for paſt, are following.

1. He was made Knight of the *Bath*, when he was but 15 or 16 years of Age, at the Creation of *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, King *James's* Eldeſt Son.

2. King *James* Created him Viſcount *Mansfield*, and Baron of *Bolſover*.

3. King *Charles* the Firſt conſtituted him Lord Lieutenant of *Nottinghamſhire*, and

4. Lord Warden of the Forreſt of *Sherwood*; as alſo,

5. Lord Lieutenant of *Derby-ſhire.*

6. He choſe him Governour to His Son *Charles*, our now gracious King; and

7. Made him one of his Honourable Privy Council.

8. He conſtituted him Governour of the Town and County of *Newcaſtle*, and General of all His Majeſties Forces raiſed, and to be raiſed in the Northern parts of *England*; as alſo of the ſeveral Counties of *Nottingham, Lincoln, Rutland, Derby, Stafford, Leiceſter, Warwick, Northampton, Huntington, Cambridg*, Norfolk, *Suſſex, Eſſex* and *Hereford*, together with all the Appurtenances belonging to ſo great a Power, as is formerly declared.

9. He conferr'd upon him the Honour and Title of Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and Baron of *Bothal* and *Hepple*.

10. He created him Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle.*

11. His Majeſty King *CHARLES* the Second, was pleaſed, when my Lord was in baniſhment, to make him Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; And

12. After his Return into *England*, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre Trent-North.*

13. He created him Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and Earl of *Ogle.*

7. *Of*

7. *Of the Entertainments he made for King* CHARLES *the First.*

THough my Lord hath alwayes been free and noble in his Entertainments and Feaſtings, yet he was pleaſed to ſhew his great Affection and Duty to his Gracious King, *Charles* the Firſt, and Her Majeſty the Queen, in ſome particular Entertainments which he made of purpoſe for them before the late Warrs.

When His Majeſty was going into *Scotland* to be Crowned, he took His way through *Nottinghamſhire*; and lying at *Workſop*-Mannor, hardly two miles diſtant from *Welbeck*, where my Lord then was, my Lord invited His Majeſty thither to a Dinner, which he was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of: This Entertainment coſt my Lord between Four and Five thouſand pounds; which His Majeſty liked ſo well, that a year after His Return out of *Scotland*, He was pleaſed to ſend my Lord word, That Her Majeſty the Queen was reſolved to make a Progreſs into the Northern parts, deſiring him to prepare the like Entertainment for Her, as he had formerly done for Him: Which My Lord did, and endeavour'd for it with all poſſible Care and Induduſtry, ſparing nothing that might add ſplendor to that Feaſt, which both Their Majeſties were pleaſed

to

to honour with their Preſence: *Ben Johnſon* he employed in fitting ſuch Scenes and Speeches as he could beſt deviſe; and ſent for all the Gentry of the Country to come and wait on their Majeſties; and in ſhort, did all that ever he could imagine, to render it Great, and worthy Their Royal Acceptance.

This Entertainment he made at *Bolſover*-Caſtle in *Derbyſhire*, ſome five miles diſtant from *Welbeck*, and reſigned *Welbeck* for Their Majeſties Lodging; it coſt him in all between Fourteen and Fifteen thouſand pounds.

Beſides theſe two, there was another ſmall Entertainment which my Lord prepared for His late Majeſty, in his own Park at *Welbeck*, when His Majeſty came down, with his two Nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and His Brother Prince *Rupert*, into the Forreſt of *Sherwood*; which coſt him Fifteen hundred pounds.

And this I mention not out of a vain-glory, but to declare the great love and Duty, my Lord had for His Gracious King and Queen, and to correct the miſtakes committed by ſome Hiſtorians, who not being rightly informed of thoſe Entertainments, make the World believe Falſhood for Truth. But as I ſaid, they were made before the Warrs, when my Lord had the poſſeſſiou of a great Eſtate, and wanted nothing to expreſs his Love and Duty to his Soveraign in that manner; whereas now he ſhould be much

much to ſeek to do the like, his Eſtate being ſo much ruined by the late Civil Wars, that neither himſelf nor his Poſterity will be able ſo ſoon to recover it.

8. *His Education.*

His Education was according to his Birth; for as he was born a Gentleman, ſo he was bred like a Gentleman. To School-Learning he never ſhew'd a great inclination; for though he was ſent to the Univerſity, and was a Student of St. *John's* Colledg in *Cambridg*, and had his Tutors to inſtruct him; yet they could not perſwade him to read or ſtudy much, he taking more delight in ſports, then in learning; ſo that his Father being a wiſe man, and ſeeing that his Son had a good natural Wit, and was of a very good Diſpoſition, ſuffer'd him to follow his own Genius; whereas his other Son *Charles*, in whom he found a greater love and inclination to Learning, he encouraged as much that way, as poſſibly he could.

One time it hapned that a young Gentleman, one of my Lord's Relations, had bought ſome Land, at the ſame time when my Lord had bought a Singing-Boy for 50 l. a Horſe for 50 l. and a Dog for 2 l. which humour his Father Sir *Charles* liked ſo well, that he was pleaſed to ſay, That if he ſhould find his Son to be ſo covetous, that he would buy Land before he was 20 years

of Age, he would diſinherit him. But above all the reſt, my Lord had a great inclination to the Art of Horſemanſhip and Weapons, in which later, his Father Sir *Charles*, being a moſt ingenuous and unparallell'd Maſter of that Age, was his onely Tutor, and kept him alſo ſeveral Maſters in the Art of Horſemanſhip, and ſent him to the *Mewſe* to *Monſ. Antoine*, who was then accounted the beſt Maſter in that Art. But my Lord's delight in thoſe Heroick Exerciſes was ſuch, that he ſoon became Maſter thereof Himſelf, which encreaſed much his Father's hopes of his future perfections, who being himſelf a perſon of a Noble and Heroick nature, was extreamly well pleaſed to obſerve his Son take delight in ſuch Arts and Exerciſes as were proper and fit for a perſon of Quality.

9. *His Natural Wit and Underſtanding.*

ALthough my Lord has not ſo much of Scholarſhip and Learning as his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* had, yet he hath an excellent Natural Wit and Judgment, and dives into the bottom of every thing; as it is evidently apparent in the forementioned Art of Horſemanſhip and Weapons, which by his own ingenuity he has reformed and brought to ſuch perfection, as never any one has done heretofore: And though he is no Mathematician by Art, yet he hath a very

very good Mathematical brain, to demonſtrate Truth by natural reaſon, and is both a good Natural and Moral Philoſopher, not by reading Philoſophical Books, but by his own Natural Underſtanding and Obſervation, by which he hath found out many Truths.

To paſs by ſeveral other inſtances, I'le but mention, that when my Lord was at *Paris*, in his Exile, it happen'd one time, that he diſcourſing with ſome of his Friends, amongſt whom was alſo that Learned Philoſopher *Hobbes*, they began amongſt the reſt, to argue upon this ſubject, namely, *Whether it were poſſible to make Man by Art fly as Birds do*; and when ſome of the Company had delivered their Opinion, *viz.* That they thought it probable to be done by the help of Artificial Wings: My Lord declared, that he deemed it altogether impoſſible, and demonſtrared it by this following Reaſon: Man's Armes, ſaid he, are not ſet on his ſhoulders in the ſame manner as Bird's wings are; for that part of the Arm which joins to the Shoulder, is in Man placed inward, as towards the breaſt, but in Birds outward, as toward the back; which difference and contrary poſition or ſhape, hinders that man cannot have the ſame flying-action with his Armes, as Birds have with their Wings; Which Argument Mr. *Hobbes* liked ſo well, that he was pleaſed to make uſe of it in one of his Books called *Leviathan*, if I remember well.

Some

Some other time they falling into a Diſcourſe concerning Witches, Mr. *Hobbes* ſaid, That though he could not rationally believe there were Witches, yet he could not be fully ſatisfied to believe there were none, by reaſon they would themſelves confeſs it, if ſtrictly examined.

To which my Lord anſwer'd, That though for his part he cared not whether there were Witches or no; yet his Opinion was, That the Confeſſion of Witches, and their ſuffering for it, proceeded from an Erroneous Belief, *viz.* That they had made a Contract with the Devil to ſerve him for ſuch Rewards as were in his Power to give them; and that it was their Religion to worſhip and adore him; in which Religion they had ſuch a firm and conſtant belief, that if any thing came to paſs according to their deſire, they believed the Devil had heard their prayers, and granted their requeſts, for which they gave him thanks; but if things fell out contrary to their prayers and deſires, then they were troubled at it; fearing they had offended him, or not ſerved him as they ought, and asked him forgiveneſs for their offences. Alſo (ſaid my Lord) they imagine that their Dreams are real exterior actions; for example, if they dream they flye in the Air, or out of the Chimney top, or that they are turned into ſeveral ſhapes, they believe no otherwiſe, but that it is really ſo: And this wicked Opinion makes them

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induſtrious to perform ſuch Ceremonies to the Devil, that they adore and worſhip him as their God, and chuſe to live and dye for him.

Thus my Lord declared himſelf concerning Witches, which Mr. *Hobbes* was alſo pleaſed to inſert in his fore-mentioned Book: But yet my Lord doth not count this Opinion of his ſo univerſal, as if there were none but imaginary Witches; for he doth not ſpeak but of ſuch a ſort of Witches as make it their Religion to worſhip the Devil in the manner aforeſaid. Nor doth he think it a Crime to entertain what Opinion ſeems moſt probable to him, in things indifferent; for in ſuch caſes men may diſcourſe and argue as they pleaſe, to exerciſe their Wit, and may change and alter their Opinions upon more probable Grounds and Reaſons; whereas in Fundamental matters both of Church and State, he is ſo ſtrict an Adherent to them, that he will never maintain or defend ſuch Opinions which are in the leaſt prejudicial to either.

One proof more I'le add to confirm his Natural Underſtanding and Judgment, which was upon ſome Diſcourſe I held with him one time, concerning that famous Chymiſt *Van Helmont*, who in his Writings is very invective againſt the School-men, and amongſt the reſt, accuſes them for taking the Radical moiſture for the fat of Animal Bodies. Whereupon my Lord anſwer'd, That ſurely the School-

men were too wiſe to commit ſuch an Error; for, ſaid he, the Radical moiſture is not the fat or tallow of an Animal, but an Oily and Balſamous Subſtance; for the fat and tallow, as alſo the watery parts, are cold; whereas the Oily and Balſamous parts, have at all times a lively heat; which makes that thoſe Creatures which have much of that Oyle or Balſom, are long-liv'd, and appear young; and not onely Animals, but alſo Vegetables, which have much of that Oyle or Balſom, as Ivy, Bayes, Laurel, Holly, and the like, live long, and appear freſh and green, not onely in Winter, but when they are old. Then I ask'd my Lord's Opinion concerning the Radical heat: To which he anſwer'd, That the Radical heat lived in the Radical moiſture; and when the one decayed, the other decayed alſo; and then was produced either an unnatural heat, which cauſed an unnatural dryneſs; or an unnatural moiſture, which cauſed Dropſies, and theſe, an unnatural coldneſs.

Laſtly; His Natural Wit appears by his delight in Poetry; for I may juſtly call him the beſt *Lyrick* and *Dramatick* Poet of this Age: His Comedies do ſufficiently ſhew his great Obſervation and Judgment, for they are compoſed of theſe three Ingredients, *viz. Wit*, *Humour* and *Satyre*; and his chief Deſign in them, is to divulge and laugh at the follies of Mankind; to perſecute Vice, and to encourage Virtue.

10. *Of*

10. *Of his Natural Humour and Diſpoſition.*

MY Lord may juſtly be compared to *Titus* the *Deliciæ* of Mankind, by reaſon of his ſweet, gentle and obliging Nature; for though his Wiſdom and Experience found it impoſſible to pleaſe all men, becauſe of their different humours and diſpoſitions; yet his Nature is ſuch, that he will be ſorry when he ſeeth that men are diſpleaſed with him out of their own ill Natures, without any cauſe; for he loves all that are his Friends, and hates none that are his Enemies: He is a Loyal Subject, a kind Husband, a Loving Father, a Generous Maſter, and a Conſtant Friend.

His natural Love to his Parents has been ſo great, that I have heard him ſay, he would moſt willingly, and without the leſt repining, have begg'd for his daily relief, ſo God would but have let his Parents live.

He is true and juſt both in his words and actions, and has no mean or petty Deſigns, but they are all juſt and honeſt.

He condemns not upon Report, but upon Proof; nor judges by Words, but Actions; he forgets not paſt Service, for preſent Advantage; but gives a preſent Reward to a preſent Deſert.

He hath a great Power over his Paſſions, and hath had the greateſt tryals thereof; for certainly He muſt

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of neceſſity have a great ſhare of Patience, that can forgive ſo many falſe, treacherous, malicious and ungrateful Perſons as he hath done; but he is ſo wiſe, that his Paſſion never out-runs his Patience, nor his Extravagancies his Prudence; and although his Private Enemies have been numerous, yet I verily believe, there is never a ſubject more generally beloved then He is.

He hates Pride and loves Humility; is civil to Strangers, kind to his Acquaintance, and reſpectful to all perſons, according to their Quality; He never regards Place, except it be for Ceremony: To the meaneſt perſon he'll put off his Hat, and ſuffer every body to ſpeak to him.

He never refuſes any Petition, but accepts them; and being informed of the buſineſs, will give a juſt, and as much as lies in him, a favourable anſwer to the Petitioning Party.

He eaſily Pardons, and bountifully Rewards; and always praiſes particular mens Virtues, but covers their Faults with ſilence.

He is full of Charity and Compaſſion to perſons that are in miſery, and full of Clemency and Mercy; in ſo much, that when he was General of a great Army, he would never ſit in Council himſelf upon Cauſes of Life and Death, but granted Pardon to many Delinquents that were condemned by his Council of War; ſo that ſome were forced to Petition him not

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to do it, by reaſon it was an ill preſident for others. To which my Lord merrily anſwer'd, That if they did hang all, they would leave him none to fight.

His Courage he always ſhew'd in Action, more then in Words, for he would Fight, but not Rant.

He is not Vain-glorious to heighten or brag of his Heroick Actions; Witneſs that great Victory upon *Atherton-moor*, after which he would not ſuffer his Trumpets to ſound, but came quietly and ſilently into the City of *York*, for which he would certainly have been blamed by thoſe that make a great noiſe upon ſmall cauſes; and love to be applauded, though their actions little deſerve it.

His noble Bounty and Generoſity is ſo manifeſt to all the World, that I ſhould light a Candle to the Sun, if I ſhould ſtrive to illuſtrate it; for he has no ſelf-deſigns or ſelf-intereſt, but will rather wrong and injure himſelf then others. To give you but one proof of this noble Vertue, it is known, that where he hath a legal right to Felons Goods, as he hath in a great part of his Eſtate, yet he never took or exacted more then ſome inconſiderable ſhare for acknowledgment of his Right; ſaying, That he was reſolved never to grow rich by other mens misfortunes.

In ſhort, I know him not addicted to any manner of Vice, except that he has been a great lover and admirer of the Female Sex; which whether it be ſo great

a crime as to condemn him for it ; I'le leave to the judgment of young Gallants and beautiful Ladies.

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11. *Of His outward Shape and Behaviour.*

HIs Shape is neat, and exactly proportioned; his Stature of a middle ſize, and his Complexion ſanguine.

His Behaviour is ſuch, that it might be a Pattern for all Gentlemen ; for it is Courtly, Civil, eaſie and free, without Formality or Conſtraint; and yet hath ſomething in it of grandure, that cauſes an awful reſpect towards him.

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12. *Of His Diſcourſe.*

HIs Diſcourſe is as free and unconcerned, as his Behaviour, Pleaſant, Witty, and Inſtructive; He is quick in Reparties or ſudden anſwers, and hates dubious diſputes, and premeditated Speeches. He loves alſo to intermingle his Diſcourſe with ſome ſhort pleaſant ſtories, and witty ſayings, and always names the Author from whom he hath them ; for he hates to make another man's Wit his own.

13. *Of His* HABIT.

HE accouters his Perſon according to the Faſhion, if it be one that is not troubleſome and uneaſie for men of Heroick Exerciſes and Actions. He is neat and cleanly; which makes him to be ſomewhat long in dreſſing, though not ſo long as many effeminate perſons are. He ſhifts ordinarily once a day, and every time when he uſes Exerciſe, or his temper is more hot then ordinary.

14. *Of His* DIET.

IN his Diet he is ſo ſparing and temperate, that he never eats nor drinks beyond his ſet proportion, ſo as to ſatisfie onely his natural appetite: He makes but one Meal a day, at which he drinks two good Glaſſes of Small-Beer, one about the beginning, the other at the end thereof, and a little Glaſs of Sack in the middle of his Dinner; which Glaſs of Sack he alſo uſes in the morning for his Breakfaſt, with a Morſel of Bread. His Supper conſiſts of an Egg, and a draught of Small-beer. And by this Temperance he finds himſelf very healthful, and may yet live ma-

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ny years, he being now of the Age of Seventy three, which I pray God from my ſoul, to grant him.

15. *His Recreation and Exerciſe.*

HIS prime Paſtime and Recreation hath always been the Exerciſe of Mannage and Weapons; which Heroick Arts he uſed to practiſe every day; but I obſerving that when he had over-heated himſelf, he would be apt to take cold, prevail'd ſo far, that at laſt he left the frequent uſe of the Mannage, uſing nevertheleſs ſtill the Exerciſe of Weapons; and though he doth not ride himſelf ſo frequently as he hath done; yet he takes delight in ſeeing his Horſes of Mannage rid by his Eſcuyers, whom he inſtructs in that Art for his own pleaſure. But in the Art of Weapons (in which he has a method beyond all that ever were famous in it, found out by his own Ingenuity and Practice) he never taught any body, but the now Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe Guardian He hath been, and his own two Sons.

The reſt of his time he ſpends in Muſick, Poetry, Architecture and the like.

16. *Of His Pedigree.*

HAving made promiſe in the beginning of the firſt Book, that I would join a more large Deſcription of the Pedigree of my Noble Lord and Husband, to the end of the Hiſtory of his life: I ſhall now diſcharge my ſelf; and though I could derive it from a longer time, and reckon up a great many of his Anceſtors, even from the time of *William* the Conqueror, He being deſcended from the moſt ancient family of the *Gernouns*, as *Cambden* relates in his *Britannia*, in the Deſcription of *Derbyſhire*; yet it being a work fitter for Heralds, I ſhall proceed no further then his Grandfather, and ſhew you onely thoſe noble Families which my Lord is allied to by his Birth.

My Lord's Grandfather, by his Father, (as is formerly mentioned) was Sir *William Cavendiſh*, Privy-Counſellor and Treaſurer of the Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*; who married two Wives; by the firſt he had onely two Daughters; but by the ſecond, *Elizabeth*, who was my Lords Grandmother, he had three Sons and four Daughters, whereof one Daughter died young. She was Daughter to *John Hardwick* of *Hardwick*, in the County of *Derby*, Eſq; and had four Husbands: The firſt was — *Barlow* Eſq; who died before they were bedded together, they being both very young. The

ſecond was Sir *William Cavendiſh*, my Lord's Grandfather, who being ſomewhat in years, married her chiefly for her beauty; ſhe had ſo much power in his affection, that ſhe perſwaded him to ſell his Eſtate which he had in the Southern parts of *England* (for he was very rich) and buy an Eſtate in the Northern parts, *viz.* in *Derbyſhire*, and thereabout, where her own friends and kindred liv'd, which he did; and having thereſetled himſelf, upon her further perſwaſion, built a Mannor-houſe in the ſame County, call'd *Chatteſworth*, which, as I have heard, coſt firſt and laſt above 80000 *l. ſterling*. But before this Houſe was finiſh'd, he died, and left ſix Children, *viz.* three Sons and three Daughters, which before they came to be marriageable, ſhe married a third Husband, Sir *William* St *Loo* Captain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Grand Butler of *England*; who dying without Iſſue, ſhe married a fourth Husband, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by whom ſhe left no Iſſue.

The Children which ſhe had by her ſecond Huſband, Sir *William Cavendiſh*, being grown marriageable; the eldeſt Son *Henry*, married *Grace* the youngeſt Daughter of his Father in Law, the ſaid *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he had by his former Wife *Gertrude*, Daughter of *Thomas Manners*, Earl of *Rutland*, but died without Iſſue.

The ſecond Son *William*, after Earl of *Devonſhire*, had two Wives; the firſt was an Heireſs, by whom he had

had Children, but all died ſave one Son, whoſe name was alſo *William*, Earl of *Devonſhire*: His ſecond Wife was Widdow to Sir *Edward Wortly*, who had ſeveral Children by her firſt Husband, and but one Son by the ſaid *Will. Cavendiſh*, after Earl of *Devonſhire*, who dyed young.

His Son by his firſt Wife, (*William* Earl of *Devonſhire*) married *Chriſtian*, Daughter of *Edward* Lord *Bruce*, a *Scots*-man, by whom he had two Sons, and one Daughter; the Eldeſt Son *William*, now Earl of *Devonſhire*, married *Elizabeth*, the ſecond Daughter of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, by whom he has three children, *viz.* Two Sons and one Daughter, whereof the Eldeſt Son *William* is married to the ſecond Daughter of *James* now Duke of *Ormond*; the ſecond Son *Charles* is yet a youth: The Daughter *Anne* married the Lord *Rich*, the onely Son and Child to *Charles* now Earl of *Warwick*; but he dyed without Iſſue.

The ſecond Son of *William* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Brother to the now Earl of *Devonſhire*, was unfortunately ſlain in the late Civil Warrs, as is before mentioned.

The Daughter of the ſaid *William* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Siſter to the now Earl of *Devonſhire*, married *Robert* Lord *Rich*, Eldeſt Son to *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, by whom ſhe had but one Son, who married, but dyed without Iſſue.

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The third and youngeſt Son of Sir *William Cavendiſh*, *Charles Cavendiſh*, (my Lord's Father) had two Wives; the firſt was Daughter and Coheir to Sir *Thomas Kidſon*, who dyed a year after her Marriage, without iſſue: The ſecond was the younger Daughter of *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, and after her Elder and onely Siſter *Jane*, Wife to *Edward Earl* of *Shrewsbury*, who dyed without Iſſue, became Heir to her Father's Eſtate and Title; by whom he had three Sons; whereof the eldeſt dyed in his Infancy; the ſecond was *William*, my dear Lord and Husband; the third, *Charles*, who dyed a Batchelour about the age of Sixty three.

My Lord hath had two Wives; the firſt was *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *William Baſſet* of *Bloore*, in the County of *Stafford*, Eſq; and Widow to *Henry Howard*, younger Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*; by whom he had ten Children, *viz.* ~~Five~~ 4 Sons, and ~~five~~ 4 Daughters; whereof five, *viz.* ~~three~~ 4 Sons, and ~~two~~ 1 Daughter, dyed young; the reſt, *viz.* Two Sons and three Daughters, came to be married.

His Elder Son, *Charles*, Viſcount of *Mansfield*, married the Eldeſt Daughter and Heir of Mr. *Richard Rogers*, by whom he had but one Daughter, who dyed ſoon after her birth; and he dyed alſo without any other Iſſue.

His ſecond Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, married

ried *Francis* the eldeſt Daughter of Mr. *William Pierrepont*, by whom he hath had three Sons, and four Daughters; two Sons were born before their narural time; the third, *Henry* Lord *Mansfield* is alive: The four Daughters are, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Lady *Frances*, Lady *Margaret*, and Lady *Catharine*.

My Lords three Daughters were thus married; The eldeſt, Lady *Jane*, married *Charles Cheiney*, Eſq; deſcended of a very noble and ancient Family; by whom ſhe hath one Son and two Daughters. The ſecond, Lady *Elizabeth*, married *John* now Earl of *Bridgwater*, then Lord *Brackly*, and eldeſt Son to *John* then Earl of *Bridgwater*; who died in Childbed, and left five Sons, and one Daughter, whereof the eldeſt Son *John* Lord *Brackly*, married the Lady *Elizabeth*, onely Daughter and Child to *James* then Earl of *Middleſex*.

My Lords third Daughter, the Lady *Frances*, married *Oliver* Earl of *Bullingbrook*, and hath had no Child yet.

After the death of my Lords firſt Wife, who died the 17*th* of *April*, in the Year 1643, he married me, *Margaret*, Daughter to *Thomas Lucas* of St. *Johns* near *Colcheſter*, in *Eſſex*, Eſquire; but hath no Iſſue by me.

And this is the Poſterity of the three Sons of Sir *William Cavendiſh*, my Lords Grandfather by his Fathers ſide; The three Daughters were diſpoſed of as followeth:

The eldeſt, *Frances Cavendiſh*, married Sir *Henry Pierrepont* of *Holm Pierrepont*, in the County of *Nottingham*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, whereof the firſt died young; The ſecond, *Robert*, after Earl of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, married *Gertrude*, the eldeſt Daughter, and Co-heir to *Henry Talbot*, fourth Son to *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by whom he had five Sons and three Daughters, whereof the eldeſt Son, *Henry*, now Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, hath had two Wives; the firſt *Cecilia*, Eldeſt Daughter to the Lord Viſcount *Bayning*, by whom he had ſeveral Children, of which there are living onely two Daughters; the eldeſt *Anne*, who married *John Roſſe*, onely Son to *John* now Earl of *Rutland*; the ſecond, *Grace*, who is unmarried. His ſecond Wife was *Catharine*, ſecond Daughter to *James* Earl of *Derby*, by whom he has no Iſſue living.

The ſecond Son of the Earl of *Kingſton*, *William*, married the ſole Daughter and Heir of Sir *Thomas Harries*, by whom he had Iſſue five Sons, and five Daughters, whereof two Sons and two Daugters died unmarried: The other ſix are,

Robert the Eldeſt, who married *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *John Evelyne*, by whom he has three Sons, and one Daughter. The ſecond Son *George*, and the third *Gervas*, are yet unmarried.

The eldeſt Daughter of *William Pierrepont*, *Frances*, is married to my Lords now onely Son and Heir, *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, as before is mentioned.

The

The ſecond, *Grace*, is married to *Gilbert* now Earl of *Clare*, by whom he hath Iſſue, Two ſons, and three daughters.

The third, *Gertrude*, is unmarried.

The third ſon of the Earl of *Kingſton*, *Francis Pierrepont*, married *Elizabeth* the eldeſt daughter of Mr. *Bray*, by whom he had Iſſue, one ſon, and one daughter; the ſon, *Robert*, married *Anne* the daughter of *Henry Murray*. The daughter, *Frances*, married *William Pagatt*, eldeſt ſon to *William* Lord *Pagatt*.

The fourth ſon of the Earl of *Kingſton*, *Gervaſe*, is unmarried.

The fifth ſon, *George Pierrepont*, married the daughter of Mr. *Jonas*, by whom he had two ſons unmarried, *Henry* and *Samuel*.

The three daughters of the ſaid Earl of *Kingſton*, are, *Frances* the eldeſt, who was married to *Philip Rowleſton*; the ſecond, *Mary*, dyed young; the third, *Elizabeth*, is unmarried.

The ſecond daughter of Sir *William Cavendiſh*, *Elizabeth*, married the Earl of *Lennox*, Unkle to King *James*; by whom ſhe had onely one daughter, the Lady *Arabella*, who againſt King *James*'s Commands (ſhe being after Him and His Children, the next Heir to the Crown) married *William*, the ſecond ſon to the Earl of *Hereford*; for which ſhe was put into the Tower, where not long after ſhe dyed.

The

The youngeſt daughter *Mary Cavendiſh*, married *Gilbert Talbot*, ſecond ſon to *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; who after the deceaſe of his Father, and his elder Brother *Francis*, who dyed without Iſſue, became Earl of *Shrewsbury*; by whom ſhe had Iſſue, four ſons, and three daughters; the ſons all dyed in their Infancy, but the daughters were married.

The eldeſt, *Mary Talbot*, married *William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whom (ſome eighteen years after her Marriage) ſhe had one ſon, who dyed young.

The ſecond daughter, *Elizabeth*, married Sir *Henry Gray*, after *Earl* of *Kent*, (the fourth Earl of *England*) by whom ſhe had no Iſſue.

The third and youngeſt daughter *Aletheia*, married *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, the firſt Earl, and Earl-Marſhal of *England*; by whom ſhe left two ſons, *James*, who died beyond the ſeas without Iſſue; and *Henry*, who married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Eſme Stuart*, Duke of *Lennox*; by whom he had Iſſue, ſeveral ſons, and one daughter; whereof the eldeſt ſon, *Thomas*, (ſince the Reſtauration of King *Charles* the Second) was reſtored to the Dignity of his Anceſtors, *viz.* Duke of *Norfolk*, next to the Royal Family, the firſt Duke of *England*.

And this is briefly the Pedigree of my dear Lord and Husband, from his Grandfather by his Fathers ſide:

ſide; concerning his Kindred and alliances by his Mother, who was *Katherine*, Daughter to *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*; they are ſo many, that it is impoſſible for me to enumerate them all, My Lord being by his Mother related to the chief of the moſt ancient Families of *Northumberland*, and other the Northern parts; onely this I may mention, that My Lord is a Peer of the Realm, from the firſt year of King *Edward* the Fourth his Reign.

THE FOURTH BOOK:

Containing ſeveral

Eſſays and Diſcourſes

Gather'd from the Mouth of

MY NOBLE LORD and HUSBAND.

With ſome few Notes of mine own.

I have heard My Lord ſay,

I.

THat thoſe which command the Wealth of a Kingdom, command the hearts and hands of the People.

II.

That He is a great Monarch, who hath a Soveraign Command over Church, Laws and Armes; and He a wiſe Monarch, that imploys his ſubjects for their own profit, (for their profit is his) encourages Tradeſmen, and aſſiſts and defends Merchants.

III.

That it is a part of Prudence in a Commonwealth or Kingdom to encourage drayners; for drowned Lands

are

are onely fit to maintain and encreaſe ſome wild Ducks, whereas being drained, they are able to afford nouriſhment and food to Cattel, beſides the producing of ſeveral ſorts of Fruit and Corn.

IV.

That without a well order'd force, a Prince doth but reign upon the courteſie of others.

V.

That great Princes ſhould not ſuffer their chief Cities to be ſtronger then themſelves.

VI.

That great Princes are half-armed, when their ſubjects are unarmed, unleſs it be in time of Foreign Wars.

VII.

That that Prince is richeſt, who is Maſter of the Purſe; and he ſtrongeſt that is Maſter of the Armes; and he wiſeſt that can tell how to ſave the one, and uſe the other.

VIII.

That Great Princes ſhould be the onely Pay-Maſters of their Soldiers, and pay them out of their own Treaſuries; for all men follow the Purſe; and ſo they'l have both the Civil and Martial Power in their hands.

IX.

That Great Monarchs ſhould rather ſtudy men, then Books; for all affairs or buſineſs are amongſt Men.

X.

X.

That a Prince ſhould advance Foreign Trade or Traffick to the utmoſt of his Power, becauſe no State or Kingdom can be Rich without it; and where Subjects are poor, the Soveraign can have but little.

XI.

That Trade and Traffick brings Honey to the Hive; that is to ſay, Riches to the Commonwealth; whereas other Profeſſions are ſo far from that, that they rather rob the Commonwealth, inſtead of enriching it.

XII.

That it is not ſo much unſeaſonable Weather that makes the Countrey complain of Scarcity, but want of Commerce; for whenſoever Commodities are cheap, it is a ſign that Commerce is decayed; becauſe the cheapneſs of them, ſhews a ſcarcity of money; for example, put the caſe five men came to Market to buy a Horſe, and each of them had no more but ten pounds, the Seller can receive no more then what the Buyer has, but muſt content himſelf with thoſe ten pounds, if he be neceſſitated to ſell his Horſe: But if each one of the Buyers had an hundred pounds to lay out for a Horſe, the Seller might receive as much. Thus Commodities are cheap or dear, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of money; and though we had Mynes of Gold and Silver at home, and no Traffick into Foreign parts, yet we

ſhould

ſhould want neceſſaries from other Nations, which proves that no Nation can live or ſubſiſt well, without Foreign Trade and Commerce; for God and Nature have order'd it ſo, That no particular Nation is provided with all things.

XIII.

That Merchants by carrying out more Commodities then they bring in; that is to ſay, by ſelling more then they buy, do enrich a State or Kingdom with money, that hath none in its own bowels; but what Kingdom or State ſoever hath Mynes of Gold and Silver, there Merchants buy more then they ſell, to furniſh and accommodate it with neceſſary proviſions.

XIV.

That debaſing, and ſetting a higher value upon money, is but a preſent ſhift of poor and needy Princes; and doth more hurt for the future, then good for the preſent.

XV.

That Foraign Commerce cauſes frequent Voyages; and frequent Voyages make skilful and experienced Sea-men, and Skilful Seamen are a Brazen Wall to an Iſland.

XVI.

That he is the Powerfulleſt Monarch that hath the beſt ſhipping; and that a Prince ſhould hinder his Neighbours as much as he can, from being ſtrong at Sea.

XVII.

That wiſe States-men ought to underſtand the Laws, Cuſtomes and Trade of the Commonwealth, and have good intelligence both of Foraign Tranſactions and Deſigns, and of Domeſtick Factions; alſo they ought to have a Treaſury, and well-furniſhed Magazine.

XVIII.

That it is a great matter in a State or Kingdom, to take care of the Education of Youth, to breed them ſo, that they may know firſt how to obey, and then how to command and order affairs wiſely.

XIX.

That it is great Wiſdom in a State, to breed and train up good States-men: As, firſt, To let them be ſome time at the Univerſities: Next, To put them to the Innes of Court, that they may have ſome knowledg of the Laws of the Land; then to ſend them to travel with ſome Ambaſſador, in the quality of Secretary; and let them be Agents or Reſidents in Foraign Countreys. Fourthly, To make them Clerks of the Signet, or Council: And laſtly, To make them Secretaries of State, or give them ſome other Employment in State-Affairs.

XX.

That there ſhould be more Praying, and leſs Preaching; for much Preaching breeds Faction; but much Praying cauſes Devotion.

XXI. That

XXI.

That young people ſhould be frequently Catechiſed, and that Wiſe Men rather then Learned, ſhould be choſen heads of Schools and Colledges.

XXII.

That the more diviſions there are in Church and State, the more trouble and confuſion is apt to enſue: Wherefore too many Controverſies and Diſputes in the one, and too many Law-Caſes and Pleadings in the other ought to be avoided and ſuppreſſed.

XXIII.

That Diſputes and Factions amongſt States-men, are fore-runners of future diſorders, if not total ruines.

XXIV.

That all Books of Controverſies ſhould be writ in Latin, that none but the Learned may read them, and that there ſhould be no Diſputations but in Schools, leſt it breed Factions amongſt the Vulgar; for Diſputations and Controverſies are a kind of Civil War, maintained by the Pen, and often draw out the ſword ſoon after; Alſo that all Prayer-Books ſhould be writ in the native Language; that Excommunications ſhould not be too frequent for every little and petty treſpaſs; that every Clergy-man ſhould be kind and loving to his Pariſhioners, not proud and quarrelſome.

XXV.

XXV.

That Ceremony is nothing in it ſelf, and yet doth every thing; for without Ceremony there would be no diſtinction neither in Church nor State.

XXVI.

That Orders and Profeſſions ought not to entrench upon each other, leſt in time they make a confuſion amongſt themſelves.

XXVII.

That in a Well-ordered State or Covernment, care ſhould be taken leſt any degree or profeſſion whatſoever ſwell too big, or grow too numerous, it being not onely a hinderance to thoſe of the ſame profeſſion, but a burden to the Commonwealth, which cannot be well if it exceeds in extreams.

XXVIII.

That the Taxes ſhould not be above the riches of the Commonwealth, for that muſt upon neceſſity breed Factions and Civil Wars, by reaſon a general poverty united, is far more dangerous then a private Purſe; for though their Wealth be ſmall, yet their Unity and Combination makes them ſtrong; ſo that being armed with neceſſity, they become outragious with deſpair.

XXIX.

That Heavy Taxes upon Farmes, ruine the Nobility and Gentry; for if the Tenant be poor, the Landlord

lord cannot be rich, he having nothing but his Rents to live on.

XXX.

That it is not so much Laws and Religion, nor Rhetorick, that keeps a State or Kingdom in order, but Armes; which if they be not imploy'd to an evil use, keep up the right and priviledges both of Crown, Church and State.

XXXI.

That no equivocations should be used either in Church or Law; for the one causes several Opinions to the disturbance of mens Consciences; the other long and tedious Suits, to the disturbance of mens private Affairs; and both do oftentimes ruine and impoverish the State.

XXXII.

That in Cases of Robberies and Murthers, it is better to be severe, then merciful; for the hanging of a few, will save the lives and Purses of many.

XXXIII.

That many Laws do rather entrap, then help the subject.

XXXIV.

That no Martial Law should be executed, but in an Army.

XXXV.

That the Sheriffs in this Kingdom of *England* have been so expensive in Liveries and Entertainments in

the time of their Sherifalty, as it hath ruined many Families that had but indifferent Eſtates.

XXXVI.

That the cutting down of Timber in the time of Rebellion, has been an ineſtimable loſs to this Kingdom, by reaſon of Shipping; for though Timber might be had out of Foreign Countries that would ſerve for the building of Ships, yet there is none of ſuch a temper as our *Engliſh* Oak; it being not onely ſtrong and large, but not apt to ſplint, which renders the Ships of other Nations much inferior to ours; and that therefore it would be very beneficial for the Kingdom, to ſet out ſome Lands for the bearing of ſuch Oaks, by ſowing of Acorns, and then tranſplanting them; which would be like a Store-houſe for ſhipping, and bring an incomparable benefit to the Kingdom, ſince in Shipping conſiſts our greateſt ſtrength, they being the onely Walls that defend an Iſland.

XXXVII.

That the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom, have done themſelves a great injury, by giving away (out of a petty pride) to the Commonalty, the power of being Juries and Juſtices of Peace; for certainly they cannot but underſtand, that that muſt of neceſſity be an act of great Conſequence and Power, which concerns mens Lives, Lands and Eſtates.

XXXVIII. That

XXXVIII.

That it is no act of Prudence to make poor and mean persons Governours or Commanders, either by Land or Sea; by reason their poverty causes them to take Bribes, and so betray their Trust; at best, they are apt to extort, which is a great grievance to the people; besides, it breeds envy in the Nobility and Gentry, who by that means rise into Factions, and cause disturbances in a State or Commonwealth: Wherefore the best way is to chuse Rich and Honourable Persons, (or at least, Gentlemen) for such Employments, who esteem Fame and Honourable Actions, above their Lives; and if they want skill, they must get such under-Officers as have more then themselves, to instruct them.

XXXIX.

That great Princes should consider, before they make War against Foreign Nations, whether they be able to maintain it; for if they be not able, then it is better to submit to an honourable Peace, then to make Warr to their great disadvantage; but if they be able to maintain Warr, then they'l force (in time) their Enemies to submit and yeild to what Tearms and Conditions they please.

XL.

That, when a State or Government is ensnarled and troubled, it is more easie to raise the common people to a Factious Mutiny, then to draw them to a Loyal Duty.

XLI. That

XLI.

That in a Kingdom where Subjects are apt to rebel, no Offices or Commands ſhould be ſold; for thoſe that buy, will not onely uſe extortion, and practiſe unjuſt wayes to make out their purchaſe, but be ableſt to rebel, by reaſon they are more for private gain, then the publick good; for it is probable their Principles are like their Purchaſes.

But, that all Magiſtrates, Officers, Commanders, Heads and Rulers, in what Profeſſion ſoever, both in Church and State, ſhould be choſen according to their Abilities, Wiſdom, Courage, Piety, Juſtice, Honeſty and Loyalty; and then they'l mind the publick Good, more then their particular Intereſt.

XLII.

That thoſe which have Politick Deſigns, are for the moſt part diſhoneſt, by reaſon their Deſigns tend more to Intereſt, then Juſtice.

XLIII.

That Great Princes ſhould onely have Great, Noble and Rich Perſons to attend them, whoſe Purſes and Power may alwayes be ready to aſſiſt them.

XLIV.

That a Poor Nobility is apt to be Factious; and a Numerous Nobility is a burden to a Commonwealth.

XLV.

XLV.

That in a Monarchical Government, to be for the King, is to be for the Commonwealth; for when Head and Body are divided, the Life of Happineſs dies, and the Soul of Peace is departed.

XLVI.

That, as it is a great Error in a State to have all Affairs put into *Gazettes*, (for it over-heats the peoples brains, and makes them neglect their private Affairs, by over-buſying themſelves with State-buſineſs;) ſo it is great Wiſdom for a Council of State to have good Intelligences (although they be bought with great Coſt and Charges) as well of Domeſtick, as Foreign Affairs and Tranſactions, and to keep them in private for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

XLVII.

That there is no better Policy for a Prince to pleaſe his People, then to have many Holy-dayes for their eaſe, and order ſeveral Sports and Paſtimes for their Recreation, and to be himſelf ſometime Spectator thereof; by which means he'l not onely gain love and reſpect from the people, but buſie their minds in harmleſs actions, ſweeten their Natures, and hinder them from Factious Deſigns.

XLVIII.

That it is more difficult and dangerous for a Prince or Commander to raiſe an Army in ſuch a time when the Countrey is embroiled in a Civil Warr, then

to lead out an Army to fight a Battel; for when an Army is raiſed, he hath ſtrength; but in raiſing it, he hath none.

XLIX.

That good Commanders, and experienced Soldiers, are like skilfull Fencers, who defend with Prudence, and aſſault with Courage, and kill their Enemies by Art, not truſting their Lives to Chance or Fortune; for as a little man with skill, may eaſily kill an ignorant Giant; ſo a ſmall Army that hath experienced Commanders, may eaſily overcome a great Army that hath none.

L.

That Gallant men having no employment for Heroick Actions, become lazy, as hating any other buſineſs; whereas Cowards and baſe perſons are onely active and ſtirring in times of Peace, working ill deſigns to breed Factions, and cauſe diſturbances in a Common-wealth.

LI.

That there have been many Queſtions and Diſputes concerning the Governments of Princes; as, Whether they ought to govern by Love, or Fear? But the beſt way of Government is, and has alwayes been by juſt Rewards and Puniſhments; for that State which cannot tell how and when to puniſh and reward, does not know how to govern, by reaſon all the World is governed that way.

LII.

LII.

That if the ancient *Britains* had had skill, according to their Courage, they might have conquer'd all the World, as the *Romans* did.

LIII.

That it would be very beneficial for great Princes to be sometimes present in Courts of Judicature, to examine the Causes of their poor Subjects, and find out the Extortions and Corruptions of Magistrates and Officers; by which glorious Act they would gain much Love and Fame from the People.

LIV.

That it would be very advantagious for Subjects, and not in the least prejudicial to the Soveraign, to have a general Register in every County, for the Entry of all manner of Deeds, and Conveyance of Land between party and party, and Offices of Record; for by this means, whosoever buyes, would see clearly what Interest and Title there is in any Land he intends to purchase, whereby he shall be assur'd that the Sale made to him is good and firm, and prevent many Law-suits touching the Title of his Purchase.

LV.

That there should be a Limitation for Law-Suits; and that the longest Suit should not last above two Tearms, at length not above a Year; which would certainly be a great benefit to the Subjects in general, though not to Lawyers; and though some Polititi-

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ans object, That the more the people is buſie about their private Affairs, the leſs time have they to make diſturbanee in the publick; yet this is but a weak Argument, ſince Law-ſuits are as apt to breed Factions as any thing elſe; for they bring people into poverty, that they know not how to live, which muſt of neceſſity breed diſcontent, and put them upon ill deſigns.

LVI.

That Power, for the moſt part, does more then Wiſdom; for Fools with Power, ſeem wiſe; whereas wiſe men, without Power, ſeem Fools; and this is the reaſon that the World takes Power for Wiſdom; and the want of Power for Fooliſhneſs.

LVII.

That a valiant man will not refuſe an honourable Duel; nor a wiſe man fight upon a Fools Quarrel.

LVIII.

That men are apt to find fault with each other's actions; believing they prove themſelves wiſe in finding fault with their Neighbours.

LIX.

That a wiſe man will draw ſeveral occaſions to the point of his deſign, as a Burning-Glaſs doth the ſeveral beams of the Sun.

LX

LX.

That although actions may be prudently deſigned, and valiantly performed; yet none can warrant the iſſue; for Fortune is more powerful then Prudence, and had *Cæſar* not been fortunate, his Valour and Prudence would never have gained him ſo much applauſe.

LXI.

That ill Fortune, makes wiſe and honeſt men ſeem Fools and Kanves; but good Fortune makes Fools and Knaves ſeem wiſe and honeſt men.

LXII.

That ill Fortune doth oftner ſucceed good, then good Fortune ſucceeds ill; for thoſe that have ill Fortune, do not ſo eaſily recover it, as thoſe that have good Fortune are apt to loſe it.

LXIII.

That he had obſerved, That ſeldom any perſon did laugh, but it was at the follies or misfortunes of other men; by which we may judg of their good natures.

LXIV.

I have heard my Lord ſay, That when he was in Baniſhment, He had nothing left him, but a clear Conſcience, by which he had and did ſtill conquer all the Armies of misfortunes that ever ſeized upon him.

LXV.

Alſo I have heard him ſay, That he was never beholding to Lady Fortune; for he had ſuffered on both ſides, although he never was but on one ſide.

LXVI.

I have heard him ſay, That his Father one time, upon ſome diſcourſe of expences, ſhould tell him, *It was but juſt that every man ſhould have his time.*

LXVII.

I have heard my Lord ſay, That bold ſoliciting and intruding men, ſhall gain more by their importunate Petitions, then modeſt honeſt men ſhall get by ſilence (as being loath to offend, or be too troubleſome) both in the manner and matter of their requeſts: The reaſon is, ſaid he, That Great Princes will rather grant ſometimes an unreaſonable ſuit, then be tired with frequent Petitions, and hindered from their ordinary Pleaſures; And when I asked my Lord, whether the Grants of ſuch importunate ſuits were fitly and properly placed? He anſwered, Not ſo well as thoſe that are placed upon due conſideration, and upon trial and proof.

LXVIII.

I have heard my Lord ſay, That it is a great Error, and weak Policy in a State, to advance their Enemies, and endeavour to make them friends by bribing them with Honours and Offices, ſaying, They are ſhrewd men, and may do the State much hurt: And on the other ſide, to neglect their Friends, and thoſe that have done them great ſervice, ſaying, they are Honeſt men, and mean the State no harm: For this kind of Policy comes from the Heathen, who pray'd to the Devil, and not to God, by reaſon they ſuppoſed God was Good,

and

and would hurt no Creature; but the Devil they flatter'd and worſhipp'd out of fear, leſt he ſhould hurt them: But by this fooliſh Policy, ſaid he, they moſt commonly encreaſe their Enemies, and loſe their Friends; for firſt, it teaches men to obſerve, that the onely way to Preferment, is to be againſt the State or Government: Next, Since all that are Factious, cannot be rewarded or preferr'd, by reaſon a State hath more Subjects, then Rewards or Preferments, there muſt of neceſſity be numerous Enemies; for when their hopes of Reward fail them, they grow more Factious and Inveterate then ever they were at firſt: Wherefore the beſt Policy in a State or Government, ſaid my Lord, is to reward Friends, and puniſh Enemies, and prefer the Honeſt before the Factious; and then all will be real Friends, and profer their honeſt ſervice, either out of pure Love and Loyalty, or in hopes of Advancement, ſeeing there is none but by ſerving the State.

LXIX.

I have heard him ſay ſeveral times, That his love to his gracious Maſter King *Charles* the Second, was above the love he bore to his Wife, Children, and all his Poſterity, nay to his own life: And when, ſince His Return into *England*, I anſwer'd him, That I obſerved His Gracious Maſter did not love him ſo well as he lov'd Him; he replied, That he cared not whether His Majeſty lov'd him again or not; for he was reſolved to love him.

LXX

LXX.

I asking my Lord one time, What kind of Fate it was, that reſtored our Gracious King, *Charles* the Second, to His Throne? He anſwer'd, It was a bleſſed kind of Fate. I replied, That I had obſerved a perfect contrariety between the Fortunes of His, Royal Father, of bleſſed memory, and Him; for as there was a diviſion amongſt the generality of the people, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, tending to His Deſtruction; ſo there was a general Combination and Agreement between them in King *Charles* the Second His Reſtauration; and as there was a general malice amongſt the people againſt the Father to Depoſe Him; ſo there was a general Love for the Son to Enthrone Him. My Lord anſwer'd, I had obſerved ſomething, but not all; for, ſaid he, there was a Neceſſity for the people to deſire and Reſtore King *Charles* the Second; but there was no Neceſſity to Murder King *Charles* the Firſt. For the Kingdom being through ſo many Alterations and Changes of Government, divided into ſeveral Factions and Parties, was at laſt hurried into ſuch a Confuſion, that it was impoſſible in that manner to ſubſiſt, or hold out any longer; Which Confuſion having opened the Peoples Eyes, the generality being tyred with the evil effects and conſequences of their unſetled Governments under unjuſt Uſurpers, and frightned with the apprehenſion of future dangers, began to call to

mind

mind the happy Times, when in an uninterrupted Peace they enjoyed their own, under the happy Reign of their Lawful Soveraigns; and hereupon with an unanimous consent Recall'd and Restor'd our now gracious King; which, although it was opposed by some Factious Parties, yet the generality of the people outweigh'd the rest; neither was the Royal Party wanting in their endeavours.

LXXI.

Asking my Lord one time, Whether it was easie or difficult to govern a State or Kingdom? He answer'd me, That most States were govern'd by secret Policy, and so with difficulty; for those that govern, are (at least, should be) wiser then the State or Commonwealth they govern. I replied, That in my opinion, a State was easily govern'd, if their Government was like unto God's; that is to say, If Governours did Reward and Punish according to the desert. My Lord answer'd, I said well; but he added, the Follies of the People are many times too hard for the Prudence of the Governour; like as the sins of men work more evil effects in them, then the Grace of God works good; for if this were not, there would be more good then bad, which, alas, Experience proves otherwise.

LXXII.

Some Gentlemen making a complaint to my Lord, That some he employed in His Majesty's Affairs, were

too hasty and over-busie. My Lord told them, That he would rather chuse such persons for His Majesties service as were over-active, then such that would be fuller of Questions then Actions. The same he would do for his own particular affairs.

LXXIII.

Some condemning My Lord for having *Roman-Catholicks* and *Scots* in his Army; He answered them, that he did not examine their Opinions in Religion, but look'd more upon their Honesty and Duty; for certainly there were honest men and loyal Subjects amongst *Roman Catholicks*, as well as Protestants; and amongst *Scots* as well as *English*. Nevertheless, my Lord, as he was for the King, so he was also for the Orthodox Church of *England*, as sufficiently appears by the care he took in ordering the Church-Government, mentioned in the History. To which purpose, when my Lord was walking one time with some of His Officers in the Church at *Durham*, and wonder'd at the greatness and strength of the Pillars that supported that structure; My Brother, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was then with him, told my Lord, that he must confess, those Pillars were very great, and of a vast strength; But said he, Your Lordship is a far greater Pillar of the Church then all these: Which certainly was also a real truth, and would have more evidently appear'd, had Fortune favour'd my Lord more then she did.

LXXIV. My

LXXIV.

My Lord being in Baniſhment, I told him, that he was happy in his misfortunes, for he was not ſubject to any State or Prince. To which he jeſtingly anſwer'd, That as he was ſubject to no Prince, ſo he was a Prince of no Subjects.

LXXV.

In ſome Diſcourſe which I had with my Lord concerning Princes and their Sujects; I declared that I had obſerved Great Princes were not like the Sun, which ſends forth out of it ſelf Rays of Light, and Beams of Heat; effects that did both glorifie the Sun, and nouriſh and comfort ſublunary Creatures; but their glory and ſplendor proceeded rather from the Ceremony which they received from their ſubjects. To which my *Lord* anſwer'd, That Subjects were ſo far from giving ſplendor to their Princes, that all the Honours and Titles, in which conſiſts the chief ſplendor of a ſubject, were principally derived from them; for, ſaid he, were there no Princes, there would be none to confer Honours and Titles upon them.

LXXVI.

My *Lord* entertaining one time ſome Gentlemen with a merry Diſcourſe, told them, that he would not keep them Company except they had done and ſuffered as much for their King and Country as he had. They anſwer'd, That they had not a power anſwerable to my *Lords*. My *Lord* replied, They ſhould do

their

their endeavour according to their Abilities: No, ſaid they, if we did, we ſhould be like your Self, loſe all, and get but little for our pains.

LXXVII.

I being much grieved that my Lord for his loyalty and honeſt Service, had ſo many Enemies, uſed ſometimes to ſpeak ſomewhat ſharply of them; but he gently reproving me, ſaid, *I ſhould do like experienced Sea-men, and as they either turn their Sails with the wind, or take them down; ſo ſhould I either comply with Time, or abate my Paſſion.*

LXXVIII.

A Soldiers Wife, whoſe Husband had been ſlain in my Lord's Army, came one time to beg ſome relief of my Lord; who told her, That he was not able to relieve all that had been loyal to His Majeſty; for ſaid he, My loſſes are ſo many, that if I ſhould give away the remainder of my Eſtate, my Wife and Children would have nothing to live on: She anſwer'd, That His Majeſty's Enemies were preferr'd to great Honours, and had much Wealth: Then it is a ſign (replied my Lord) that your Husband and I were Honeſt Men.

LXXIX.

A Friend of my Lord's, complaining that he had done the State much Service, but received little Reward for it; my Lord anſwer'd him, That States did not uſually reward paſt Services; but if he could do

ſome

ſome preſent Service, he might perhaps get ſomething; but (ſaid he) thoſe men are wiſeſt that will be paid before-hand.

LXXX.

I obſerving that in the late Civil Warrs, many were deſirous to be employed in *States* Affairs, and at the noiſe of Warr, endeavoured to be Commanders, though but of ſmall Parties, asked my Lord the reaſon thereof, and what advantage they could make by their Employments? My Lord ſmilingly anſwer'd, That for the generality, he knew not what they could get, but danger, loſs and labour for their pains. Then I ask'd him, Whether Generals of Great Armies were ever enriched by their Heroick Exploits, and great Victories? My Lord anſwer'd, That ordinary Commanders gained more, and were better rewarded then great Generals. To which I added, That I had obſerv'd the ſame in Hiſtories, namely, That men of great Merit and Power, had not onely no Rewards, but were either found fault withall, or laid aſide when they had no more buſineſs or employment for them; and that I could not conceive any reaſon for it, but that *States* were afraid of their Power: My Lord anſwer'd, The reaſon was, That it was far more eaſie to reward Under-Officers, then Great Commanders.

LXXXI.

My Lord having ſince the Return from his Baniſhment, ſet up a Race of Horſes, inſtead of thoſe he loſt by the Warrs, uſes often to ride through his Park to ſee his Breed. One time it chanced when he went thorough it, that he eſpied ſome labouring-men ſawing of Woods that were blown down by the Wind, for ſome particular uſes; at vvhich my *Lord* turning to his Attendants, ſaid, That he had been at that Work a great part of his life. They not knovving vvhat my *Lord* meant, but thinking he jeſted; I ſpeak very ſeriouſly, (added he) and not in jeſt; for you ſee that this Tree which is blown down by the Wind, although it was ſound and ſtrong, yet it could not withſtand its force; and now it is down, it muſt be cut in pieces, and made ſerviceable for ſeveral uſes; whereof ſome will ſerve for Building, ſome for Paling, ſome for Firing, *&c.* In the like manner, ſaid he, have I been cut down by the Lady Fortune; and being not able to reſiſt ſo Powerful a Princeſs, I have been forced to make the beſt uſe of my Misfortunes, as the Chips of my Eſtate.

LXXXII.

My *Lord* diſcourſing one time with ſome of his Friends, of judging of other mens Natures, Diſpoſitions and Actions; and ſome obſerving that men could not poſſibly know or judg of them, the events of mens actions falling out oftentimes contrary to their

inten-

intentions; ſo that where they hit once, they fail'd twenty times in their Judgments. My Lord anſwer'd, That his Judgment in that point ſeldom did miſs, although he thought it weaker then theirs: The reaſon is, ſaid he, Becauſe I judg moſt men to be like my ſelf; that is to ſay, Fools; when as you do judg them all according to your ſelf, that is, Wiſe men; and ſince there are more Fools in the World then Wiſe men, I may ſooner gueſs right then you: for though my judgment roves at random, yet it can never miſs of Errors; which yours will never do, except you can dive into other mens Follies by the length of your own line, and ſound their bottom by the weight of your own Plummet, for the depth of Folly is beyond the line of Wiſdom.

Beſides, ſaid he, You believe that other men would do as you would have them, or as you would do to them; wherein you are miſtaken, for moſt men do the contrary. In ſhort, Folly is bottomleſs, and hath no end; but Wiſdom hath bounds to all her deſigns, otherwiſe ſhe would never compaſs them.

LXXXIII.

My Lord diſcourſing ſome time with a Learned Doctor of Divinity concerning Faith, ſaid, That in his opinion, the wiſeſt way for a man, was to have as little Faith as he could for this World, and as much as he could for the next World.

LXXXIV.

LXXXIV.

In ſome Diſcourſe with my Lord, I told him that I did ſpeak ſharpeſt to thoſe I loved beſt. To which he jeſtingly anſwered, That if ſo, then he would not have me love him beſt.

LXXXV.

After my Lords return from a long Baniſhment, when he had been in the Countrey ſome time, and endeavoured to pick up ſome Gleanings of his ruined Eſtate; it chanced that the Widow of *Charles* Lord *Mansfield*, My Lords Eldeſt Son, afterwards Ducheſs of *Richmond*, to whom the ſaid Lord of *Mansfield* had made a joynture of 2000l. a Year, died not long after her ſecond marriage; for whoſe death, though My Lord was heartily ſorry, and would willingly have loſt the ſaid Money, had it been able to ſave her life; Yet diſcourſing one time merrily with his Friends, was pleaſed to ſay, That though his Earthly King and Maſter ſeem'd to have forgot him, yet the King of Heaven had remembred him, for he had given him 2000l. a Year.

SOME

SOME FEW NOTES OF THE AUTHORESSE.

I.

IT was far more difficult in the late Civil Wars, for my Lord to raiſe an Army for His Majeſties Service, then it was for the Parliament to raiſe an Army againſt His Majeſty: Not onely becauſe the Parliament were many, and my Lord but one ſingle Perſon; but by reaſon a Kingly or Monarchical Government was then generally diſliked, and moſt part of the Kingdom proved Rebellious, and aſſiſted the Parliament either with their Purſes or Perſons, or both; when as the Army which my Lord raiſed for the defence and maintenance of the King, and his Rights, was raiſed moſt upon his own and his Friends Intereſt: For it is frequently ſeen and known by woful Experience, that rebellious and factious Parties do more ſuddenly and nnmerouſly flock together to act a miſchievous deſign, then

then loyal and honeſt men to aſſiſt or maintain a juſt Cauſe; and certainly 'tis much to be lamented, that evil men ſhould be more induſtrious and proſperous then good, and that the Wicked ſhould have a more deſperate Courage, then the Virtuous, an active Valour.

II.

I have obſerved, That many by flattering Poets, have been compared to *Cæſar*, without deſert; but this, I dare freely and without flattery ſay of my Lord, That though he had not *Cæſars* Fortune, yet he wanted not *Cæſars* Courage, nor his Prudence, nor his good Nature, nor his Wit; Nay, in ſome particulars he did more then *Cæſar* ever did; for though *Cæſar* had a great Army, yet he was firſt ſet ont by the State or Senators of *Rome*, who were Maſters almoſt of all the World; when as my Lord raiſed his Army (as before is mentioned) moſt upon his own Intereſt (he having many Friends and Kindred in the Northern parts) at ſuch a time when his Gracious King and Soveraign was then not Maſter of his own Kingdoms, He being over-power'd by his rebellious Subjects.

III.

I have obſerved, That my Noble Lord has always had

had an averſion to that kind of Policy, that now is commonly practiſed in the world, which in plain tearms is Diſſembling, Flattery and Cheating, under the cover of Honeſty, Love and Kindneſs: But I have heard him ſay, that the beſt Policy is to act juſtly, honeſtly and wiſely, and to ſpeak truly; and that the old Proverb is true; *To be wiſe is to be honeſt:* For, ſaid he, That man of what Condition, Quality or Profeſſion ſoever, that is once found out to deceive either in words or actions, ſhall never be truſted again by wiſe and honeſt men. But, ſaid he, A wiſe man is not bound to take notice of all Diſſemblers, and their cheating Actions, if they do not concern him; nay, even of thoſe he would not always take notice, but chuſe his time; for the chief part of a wiſe man is to time buſineſs well, and to do it without Partiality and Paſſion. But, ſaid he, The folly of the world is ſo great, that one honeſt and wiſe man may be overpowred by many Knaves and Fools; and if ſo, then the onely benefit of a wiſe man conſiſts in the ſatisfaction he finds by his honeſt and wiſe actions, and that he has done what in Conſcience, Honour and Duty he ought to do; and all ſucceſſors of ſuch worthy Perſons ought to be more ſatisfied in the worth and merit of their Predeceſſours, then in their Title and Riches.

IV.

I have heard that ſome noble Gentleman, (who was ſervant to His Highneſs then Prince of *Wales*, our now Gracious Soveraign, when my Lord was Governour) ſhould relate, that whenſoever my Lord by his prudent inſpection and foreſight did foretell what would come to paſs hereafter; it ſeemed ſo improbable to him, that both himſelf and ſome others believed my Lotd ſpoke extravagantly: But ſome few years after, his predictions proved true, and the event did confirm what his Prudence had obſerved.

V.

I have heard, That in our late Civil Warres there were many petty Skirmiſhes, and Fortifications of weak and inconſiderable Houſes, where ſome ſmall Parties would be ſhooting and pottering at each other; an action more proper for Bandites or Thieves, then ſtout and valiant Soldiers; for I have heard my Lord ſay, That ſuch ſmall Parties divide the Body of an Army, and by that means weaken it; whereas the buſineſs might be much eaſier decided in one or two Battels, with leſs ruine both to the Country and Army: For I have heard my Lord ſay, That as it is dangerous to divide a Limb from the Body; ſo it is alſo dan-

dangerous to divide Armies or Navies in time of Warr; and there are often more men loſt in ſuch petty Skirmiſhes, then in ſet-Battels, by reaſon thoſe happen almoſt every day, nay every hour in ſeveral places.

VI.

Many in our late Civil-Warres, had more Title then Power; for though they were Generals, or chief Commanders, yet their Forces were more like a Brigade, then a well-formed Army; and their actions were accordingly, not ſet-battels, but petty Skirmiſhes between ſmall Parties; for there were no great Battels fought, but by my Lord's Army, his being the greateſt and beſt-formed Army which His Majeſty had.

VII.

Although I have obſerved, That it is a uſual Cuſtom of the World, to glorifie the preſent Power and good Fortune, and vilifie ill Fortune and low conditions; yet I never heard that my Noble Lord was ever neglected by the generality; but was on the contrary, alwayes eſteemed and praiſed by all; for he is truly an Honeſt and Honourable man, and one that may be relied upon both for Truſt and Truth.

VIII.

VIII.

I have obſerved, That many inſtead of great Actions, make onely a great Noiſe; and like ſhallow Fords, or empty Bladders, ſound moſt when there is leaſt in them; which expreſſes a flattering Partiality, rather then Honeſty and Truth; for Truth and Honeſty lye at the bottom, and have more Action then Shew.

IX.

I have obſerved, That good Fortune adds Fame to mean Actions, when as ill Fortune darkens the ſplendor of the moſt meritorious; for mean Perſons plyed with good Fortune, are more famous then Noble Perſons that are ſhadowed or darkned with ill Fortune; ſo that Fortune, for the moſt part, is Fame's Champion.

X.

I obſerve, That as it would be a grief to covetous and miſerable perſons, to be rewarded with Honour, rather then with Wealth, becauſe they love Wealth before Honour and Fame; ſo on the other ſide, Noble, Heroick and Meritorious Perſons, prefer Honour and Fame before Wealth; well knowing, That as Infamy

famy is the greateſt Puniſhment of unworthineſs, ſo Fame and Honour is the beſt Reward of worth and merit.

XII.

I obſerve, that ſpleen and malice, eſpecially in this age, is grown to that height, that none will endure the praiſe of any body beſides themſelves; nay, they'l rather praiſe the wicked then the good; the Coward rather then the Valiant; the Miſerable then the Generous; the Traytor, then the Loyal: which makes Wiſe men meddle as little with the Affairs of the world as ever they can.

XIII.

I have obſerved, as well as former Ages have done, That Meritorious perſons, for their noble actions, moſt commonly get Envy and Reproach, inſtead of Praiſe and Reward; unleſs their Fortunes be above Envy, as *Cæſars* and *Elexanders* were; But had theſe two Worthies been as Unfortunate as they were Fortunate, they would have been as much vilified, as they are glorified.

XIV.

I have obſerved, that it is more eaſie to talk, then to act; to forget, then to remember; to puniſh, then to

reward; and more common to prefer Flattery before Truth, Intereſt before Juſtice, and preſent ſervice before paſt.

XV.

I have obſerved, that many old Proverbs are very true, and amongſt the reſt, this: It is better to be at the latter end of a Feaſt, then at the beginning of a Fray; for moſt commonly, thoſe that are in the beginning of a Fray, get but little of the Feaſt; and thoſe that have undergone the greateſt dangers, have leaſt of the ſpoils.

XVI.

I have obſerved, That Favours of Great Princes make men often thought Meritorious; whereas without them, they would be eſteemed but as ordinary Perſons.

XVII.

I obſerve, That in other Kingdoms or Countries, to be the chief Governour of a Province, is not onely a place of Honour, but much Profit; for they have a great Revenue to themſelves; whereas in *England*, the Lieutenancy of a County is barely a Title of Honour, without Profit; except it be the Lieutenancy or Government of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; eſpecially ſince the late Earl of *Stafford* enjoyed that dignity, who

ſetled

ſetled that Kingdom very wiſely both for Militia and Trade.

XVIII.

I have obſerved, That thoſe that meddle leaſt in Wars, whether Civil or Foreign, are not onely moſt ſafe and free from danger, but moſt ſecure from Loſſes; and though Heroick Perſons eſteem Fame before Life; yet many there are, that think the wiſeſt way is to be a Spectator, rather then an Actor, unleſs they be neceſſitated to it; for it is better, ſay they, to ſit on the Stool of Quiet, then in the Chair of Troubleſome Buſineſs.

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